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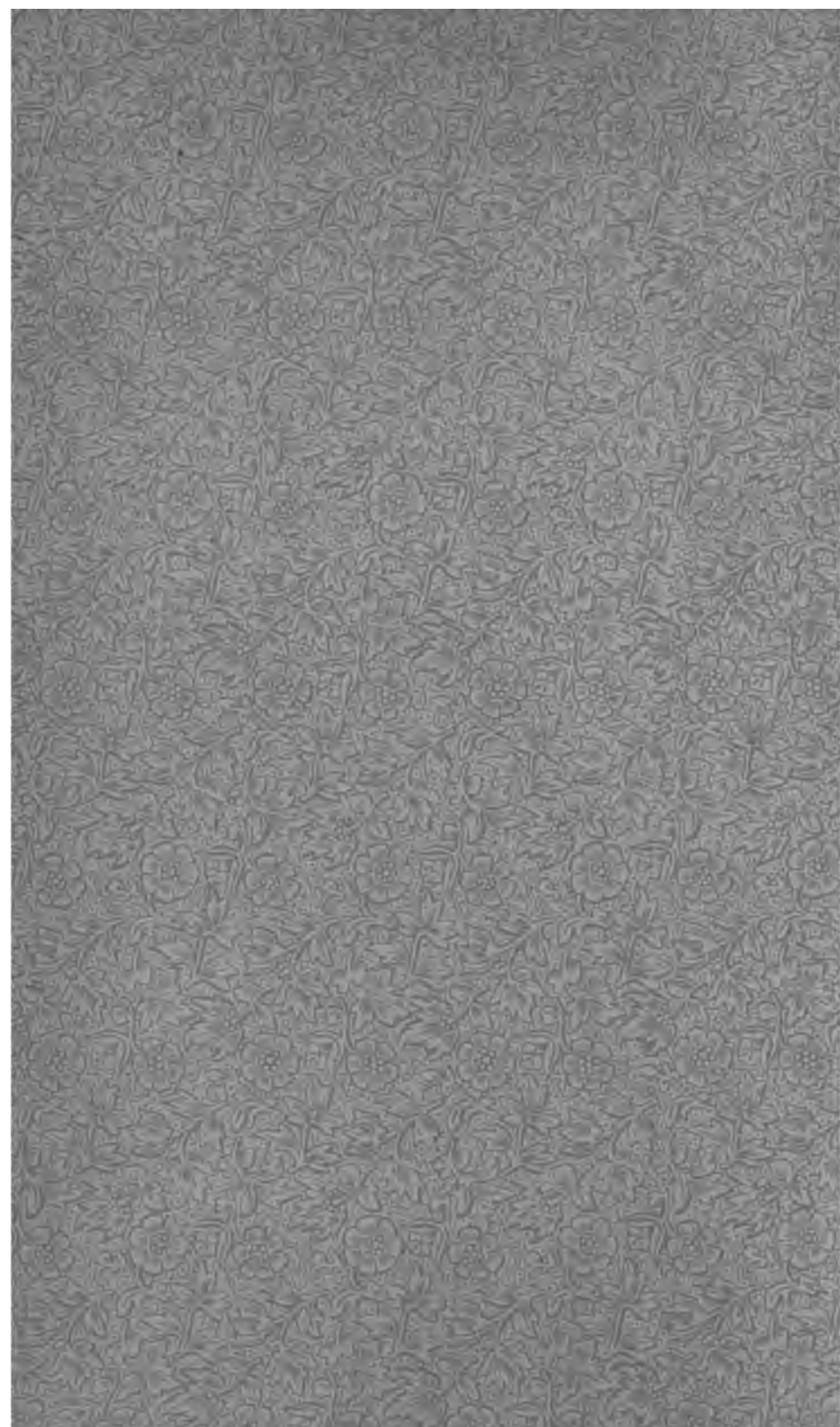
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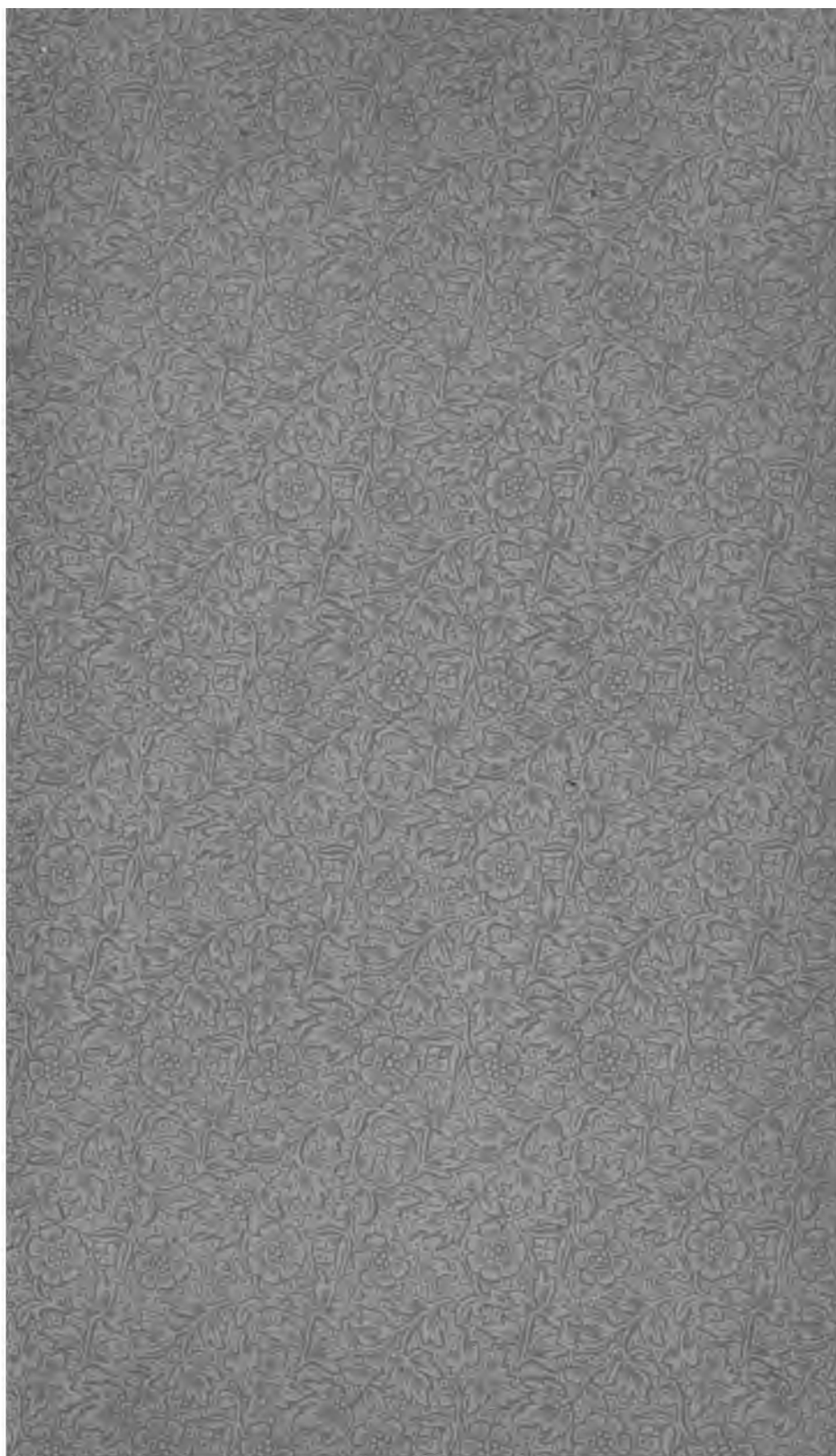
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# ALMSHOUSE WOMEN.

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A STUDY OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHT WOMEN IN THE CITY  
AND COUNTY ALMSHOUSE OF SAN FRANCISCO.

BY

MARY ROBERTS SMITH, <sup>Coolidge</sup> M.S.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR  
UNIVERSITY.

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## I. THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

This study of almshouse women was begun in the fall of 1892 and completed at Christmas, 1894,—a period of more than two years. For tabulating the inquiries in systematic form, cards of uniform size ( $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  inches) were used, on which was printed the following: —

1. Number (on almshouse records).
2. Name.
3. Date (of inquiry).
4. Age.
5. Color.
6. Place of birth.
7. Disease or defect.
8. Education.
9. Occupation.
10. Conjugal condition.
11. Admitted (*a*), how.
  - “ (*b*), when last.
  - “ (*c*), number of times.

12. When discharged.
13. Relief elsewhere.
14. Habits.
15. Cause of pauperism.
16. Contributory causes.
17. Ancestry.
18. Children.

The answers to Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 were copied from the almshouse records; in the nature of the case, these were the perfunctory questions to which replies could most easily be obtained. Nos. 10 and 14 were often found to have been answered falsely. The rest of the information was obtained by repeated personal conversations with the women themselves. Finally, the whole was submitted in detail to the matron, without whose active and intelligent coöperation the work could not have been done at all. Her minute personal knowledge of every inmate often filled out, ✓ modified, corrected, and sometimes utterly disproved, the inmate's story of herself. Frequently the nurses were enlisted to obtain, in a casual way, some special point.

By the courtesy of the superintendent and matron, not only were the records and accounts of the institution always at the disposal of the investigator, but for several days at a time, on various occasions, she was enabled to live in the institution and see its entire administration. The greatest obstacle to the carrying on of the work was the want of trained medical assistance. From the physician in charge no help could be obtained.

If the results seem meagre, it must be remembered that the character of these women presents special difficulties. The majority are more or less feeble-minded, deficient, or erratic in memory; all are prolix in thought and speech; ✓ many lie with facility. The keener-witted set down any person who shows an interest in their history, unjustified by a charitable donation, as a newspaper reporter.

To overcome prejudice and suspicion, and merely to make the acquaintance of the more approachable, was the work of several visits, while throughout the whole time it was not possible to use even a note-book and pencil. The fragments of several stories at one time had, therefore, to be carried in the memory until they could be noted on paper in a private room. A woman rarely if ever gave a connected account of her life, so that repeated conversations, guided with a view to securing some one or more missing points, had to be managed.

With so many sources of error, and only 228 cases in all, the usefulness of the work and its results may naturally be questioned. Doubtless its greatest value lies in the training of the student herself in patience, tact, judgment of human nature, accuracy of detail, and methods of work. But this being true, a published account of methods and results has value in the first instance as a guide to other students conducting the same or similar investigations. It may serve to show them in advance what it is possible and what it is not possible to ascertain by given methods. As to the statistical importance of the work itself, it may be said that it has a certain corroborative value in relation to other statistics bearing upon the same subject. While alone it has not great cumulative force, yet the very smallness of the number of cases studied renders possible a minuteness of personal inquiry and acquaintance on the part of the writer herself which would be out of the question where large numbers of cases were considered. The inquiry stands midway between the great masses of facts collected through many agents and worked up by a statistician who takes all his material at second hand and the minute studies of the life histories of individual dependents or of dependent families. This middle position gives it value in the interpretation of both the extensive and the intensive studies. Further, it has an intangible though not less real usefulness as a picture of conditions; piteous, vulgar, tedious, perhaps, but real and ✓

inevitable,—conditions that, with variations, are common to all our American cities. Finally, less has always been known of women than of men; in fact, they have seldom been studied apart from men, and this contribution may serve to point out special variations and conditions, without a knowledge of which intelligent treatment is impossible.

## II. ADMINISTRATION.

The San Francisco City and County Almshouse was founded by acts of the California Legislature passed in 1863 and 1866, and was opened in 1867. Until 1890 it was under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Keating; since then Mr. and Mrs. P. L. Weaver have been in charge. Such statistics, therefore, as are founded on the records of the institution have a certain uniformity.

The institution is under the control of the San Francisco Board of Health, consisting of the Mayor and four physicians of good standing, appointed by the Governor and holding office for four years. The offices of superintendent, matron, and physician are a part of the political perquisites of the board. Formerly all subordinate positions were filled in the same way. If the present superintendent were not a man of some political influence he would not have been able to avoid having incompetent and worthless employes forced upon him, for whom certain members of the board desired to obtain comfortable places in payment of political services. In other ways the spoils system operates to the detriment of such institutions. Members of the board might attempt to induce the superintendent to let the supply contracts to tradesmen who are their own partisan adherents. On the other hand, if provisions and materials do not prove to be up to the contract standard, the board sometimes protects the contractor against the superintendent.

Every naturalized male inmate of the institution has a vote somewhere; legally, no man gains or loses a residence by being an inmate of the almshouse. It is evident, however,

that he may and frequently does vote in violation of the law. It is the custom of competing parties to send lines of carriages to the gates of the grounds, and to induce the inmates to go to the polls by offers of money and whiskey. ✓

#### ADMISSION.

By an act of 1883 the State Legislature of California appropriated the sum of \$100 yearly for the support of every indigent person over 60 years of age. As a consequence of this law many counties found it cheaper and more convenient to send aged paupers to an almshouse already established than to maintain a local county institution. The inmates of this almshouse, therefore, represent the residuum of pauperism in central California. ✓

Since the number has become large, and the expense per inmate per annum has fallen below \$100, it has been advantageous for the almshouse to receive and maintain as many as possible over 60 years of age. On the other hand, the mere existence of such a comprehensive provision, upon which there has been no check in the way of investigation, has spread an impression, especially among the foreign population, that this was a sort of an old-age pension. Self-respect and independence have thus been discouraged among those who most needed it as an incentive to thrift. The indigent law has been repealed by the present Legislature (1894-95). During the last five years the number of inmates has ranged from 800 to 900, of whom about one-fifth are women. ✓

Legally, no person may be admitted except by a permit from the Mayor, the resident physician, or the chairman of the Hospital Committee. But as the almshouse is looked upon as the suitable catch-all for all those incompetent, helpless, and vicious persons whom other institutions cannot or will not keep, the superintendent must admit any who come or run the risk of a fusillade from the newspapers. Of the 228 women observed, 138 were admitted by permit from the Mayor; 13 by the Health Officer; 46 were sent from the City ✓

and County Hospital ; 26 were sent from the police station, 2 were admitted by a supervisor, 1 by a private person, and 1 unknown. At the Mayor's office no attempt has been made to investigate the worthiness of the applicant ; usually the permit has been given after a few perfunctory questions by the Mayor's secretary, and in one case by the janitor.

✓ The City and County Hospital habitually sends to the almshouse convalescents, consumptives, and incurables in all stages, partly to reduce expenses, partly to lower the death rate, and chiefly, it must be said, because there is nowhere else for them to go. As early as 1885 the Board of Health appropriated money to build a new almshouse building, "with a view of relieving the City and County Hospital of its incurables and convalescents." In the report of the next year the superintendent states that "most of these people (transferred from the hospital) are paralytics, cripples, or consumptives, . . . unable to do any kind of work." In 1891-92 the report says : "The number of inmates is slowly but surely increasing from year to year, and are of a more helpless character, owing to the large number of incurables sent from the City and County Hospital." In 1893 a small ✓ hospital for women was built in the almshouse grounds, but none has yet been provided for men. From the police station come feeble, demented, wandering, and vicious persons who cannot be sent to a jail or to an insane asylum.

#### DISCHARGE.

✓ Inmates are discharged at their own request or at the request of relatives. When the almshouse routine becomes too monotonous, any perfectly irresponsible inmate may demand a permit, which cannot legally be refused, to go into the city for a certain number of days or to be permanently discharged. The intemperate, prostitute, and begging make use of this liberty periodically, and return, usually in the ✓ police van, in a condition too filthy and degraded to be described, having pawned the clothes provided by the State.

They must be re-admitted, and may then recuperate until the next restless impulse seizes them. ✓

If the superintendent and matron did not use all possible personal influence, in persuasion and command, to influence these erratic creatures, the results would be far more serious than they are. It is evident that there is the same necessity here as in the system of repeated commitments\* to county jails for some form of cumulative sentence to prevent the depredations of these incapables upon the community. Table I, compiled from recent reports, will serve to show the extent to which freedom is abused.

TABLE I.  
NUMBER OF TIMES ADMITTED AND RE-ADMITTED AFTER DISCHARGE.  
(From Municipal Reports of San Francisco, 1889-95.)

	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	Totals.	Percentages.
1st.....	566	545	602	577	527	2,817	64.30
2nd.....	117	164	153	142	125	701	16.10
3rd.....	45	56	64	82	59	306	7.01
4th.....	28	25	35	37	32	157	3.60
5th.....	22	25	20	26	20	113	2.60
6th.....	13	19	12	7	13	64	1.50
7th.....	15	9	11	8	5	48	1.10
8th.....	8	12	6	9	6	41	.94
9th.....	3	9	6	7	3	28	.64
10th.....	2	6	5	4	2	19	.44
11th.....	2	2	5	4	1	14	.32
12th.....	6	2	2	2	4	16	.37
13th.....	2	5	2	2	....	11	.25
14th.....	1	3	1	3	1	9	.20
15th.....	1	....	3	3	2	9	.20
16th.....	1	....	....	2	1	4	.09
17th.....	....	....	1	2	1	4	.09
18th.....	....	....	....	1	1	2	.04

The class of "ins and outs" among the women consists chiefly of those who, while spending most of their time in the almshouse, are in the habit of constantly revisiting their acquaintances; or who, having secured a little money from some benevolent person, go out to spend it in drink; or who ✓

\* A man brought into the San Francisco City and County Jail, No. 3, on being asked how many times he had been up, replied: "Well, Captain, I guess it's about a hundred."



beg upon the streets to vary the monotony of life; or, finally, who, under stress of want, occasionally come back. Fortunately, most of them are beyond the child-bearing age, so that the results are not so disastrous as in some well-known instances.\*

#### WORK TEST.

In former years inmates were bribed to work by special privileges,—tobacco and whiskey. Under the present management the resident physician decides whether an inmate is capable of any kind of labor. All who can do anything whatever are given regular tasks, and are compelled to do them or leave the house. For this compulsion the law makes no provision, but if not strictly enforced the institution would be overrun with repeaters and tramps. Superintendent Keating says in the almshouse report † for 1881–82: “It requires the most vigilant supervision to get the necessary work of the place performed without resort to harsh measures. . . . It must be borne in mind that one-half of the people who find their way to the almshouse are sick, crippled, or infirm, and consequently incapable of physical exertion; while one-half of the balance are mentally deficient or constitutionally lazy, and have lost all ambition. Taking into account the number of children, the working force is reduced to less than one-fifth the inmates, and many of these are poor workers at best.”

Mr. A. O. Wright‡ says on this point: “The labor test is the best practical test that has ever been devised to sift out the really needy, and therefore deserving, from those who can but will not earn their own living. The labor test is the one thing dreaded by tramps. It is the best method of reducing unnecessary out-door relief, and it is the best method of driving the drones out of a poorhouse.” Mr. S. C. Hoyt says: “The absence of employment in poorhouses tends to make

\* Report of a Special Committee Appointed by the Mayor of Boston to Inspect Public Institutions, June, 1892; pp. 28–9, 157, 158.

† Municipal report of San Francisco, 1881–82.

‡ *Employment in Poorhouses*, National Conference of Charities, 1889.

those who are temporarily dependent, chronic, and incurable paupers.”\*

The amount of patience, ingenuity, and energy necessary to make such labor somewhat profitable, and to fit such laborers — who for the most part have failed to fit anywhere else in the industrial world — into the task which each can do, requires a degree of executive ability and moral fibre rarely to be found. Under the present matron the women of this almshouse have reached a high degree of industrial efficiency, considering their capacities. A prostitute nurses a bed-ridden girl to whom she has become attached; a deaf and difficult old woman washes, dresses, and feeds as a baby a deaf, dumb, and blind girl; a woman, nearly blind and knotted with rheumatism, braids rag rugs; a feeble-minded Swedish woman makes fine lace; a well-educated woman does fine sewing and reads the daily paper aloud to the others. All the sewing and mending for the 900 inmates, and all the cleaning of the women's apartments, is done by the women.

#### GRADING.

Although it is usually quite impossible to make a clear distinction between the worthy and unworthy poor, it is essential that some line should be drawn between the decent and the indecent, the capable and the incapable. Some classification by character is here attempted. One corridor is known, even among the women themselves, as “pauper alley,” while to be assigned to a room on another is a reward of merit. The device of placing deaf women in the same hall with snorers is only one illustration of the infinite ingenuity expended in adjusting these misfits to each other. All are made to feel that even in this last stage there may be an advantage in being decent, industrious, and honest. Small responsibilities are placed on those who try to keep their self-respect, and inducements, such as would commonly be found useful only with children, often produce excellent effects.

\* Tenth Report New York State Board of Charities, p. 290.

For sociological purposes it has not seemed desirable to dwell further on administration. The institution is managed with rare economy of labor and materials, while the inmates are well fed, decently clothed, and treated with good judgment and kindness. Such reforms as are necessary will be suggested in Part IV.

### III. STATISTICS AND COMMENT.

It must be clearly understood that the writer recognizes the impossibility of drawing definite conclusions from 228 cases. In commenting upon tables the greatest care has been taken to distinguish between fact and opinion, and to compare both with the statements of accepted authorities. Numbers have been translated into percentages only when they were large enough to have some significance.

#### *Nativity.*

The most surprising feature of Table II is the uniform proportion which the representatives of certain nationalities bear throughout twenty-five years to the whole number of inmates in each year,—as, for instance, Ireland from 33 to 43 per cent, United States from 19 to 21 per cent, etc. In Table III, showing the distribution of population in California among the same nationalities, there appears to be a very uniform proportion through the census of 1870, 1880, and 1890; but in Table IV, where the two preceding tables are compared with each other, there appear certain startling variations. Canada, Italy, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, and Switzerland are represented by nearly the same per cent in the almshouse and the total population of California. The Chinese, although constituting 7 per cent of the population, are practically unknown in the almshouse, probably owing to the fact that they always care for their own poor, and have the strongest objection to being buried in a foreign country.

Native Californians average one-third of the total population of the State, but only 6 per cent of the almshouse in-

TABLE II.  
NATIVITY OF ALL INMATES OF SAN FRANCISCO ALMHOUSE, 1869-94.  
(From Municipal Reports of San Francisco, 1869-94.)

	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	Total.	Per Cent.
United States.....	85	58	59	57	68	91	60	100	90	73	107	101	109	100	115	117	85	118	154	192	177	214	210	198	183	2,921	20.5
California.....	29	35	33	31	57	52	60	90	48	47	48	59	28	30	29	27	21	9	19	21	16	14	10	12	16	841	5.9
Canada.....	4	2	4	..	3	6	4	6	8	..	4	7	8	3	8	9	5	15	13	10	18	22	15	17	13	204	1.7
China.....	11	2	..	1	2	..	2	4	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	35	.2
England.....	19	25	20	20	34	25	26	39	41	35	28	35	40	35	22	32	24	33	35	48	54	66	48	53	39	876	6.1
France.....	29	20	24	24	38	24	22	36	32	14	25	20	30	23	29	26	33	31	25	28	34	31	47	30	24	717	5.0
Germany.....	20	13	25	23	33	19	38	33	33	33	44	38	33	30	40	46	27	53	57	60	71	74	75	69	67	1,041	7.0
Ireland.....	138	117	134	122	146	197	150	228	175	249	255	238	234	213	240	235	198	250	291	347	314	338	369	408	324	5,910	41.3
Italy.....	2	1	4	3	6	7	2	7	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	6	4	7	7	6	10	12	7	12	129	.7
Norway.....	4	1	1	3	..	5	3	6	3	3	3	1	2	..	1	2	4	3	6	4	8	5	10	11	5	94	.6
Scotland.....	11	8	6	9	8	20	4	16	13	17	8	17	13	14	10	12	5	9	13	24	25	20	33	28	28	371	2.6
Sweden.....	7	1	4	4	2	9	1	6	8	7	10	3	4	7	4	5	1	9	4	15	13	17	19	12	16	186	1.4
Switzerland.....	10	2	2	1	4	6	..	1	..	5	2	7	6	1	3	5	1	7	9	6	15	7	12	9	22	143	1.0
Unknown.....	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	2	3	..	..	20	.1
All other nationalities (10 to 23).....	25	29	25	22	20	24	13	37	13	17	22	26	29	25	34	27	26	25	30	59	80	60	65	63	49	844	5.9
Total.....	396	331	326	326	408	498	371	611	472	506	560	564	543	483	538	545	436	568	696	824	832	882	928	918	800	14,332	100.0

In 1892-93 the "other nationalities" were as follows: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Brazil, Central America, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Holland, Jamaica, Japan, Malta, Mexico, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, St. Helena, Wales, West Indies.

TABLE III.  
POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA BY SELECTED NATIONALITIES.  
(From United States Census, 1870, 1880, and 1890.)

	1870.		1880.		1890.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Other states.....	176,199	31.4	245,820	28.4	365,997	31.3
California.....	170,097	30.4	326,000	37.7	475,843	39.5
Canada.....	6,977	1.2	13,077	1.6	26,028	2.2
China.....	48,826	8.7	73,548	8.5	71,066	5.7
England.....	17,699	3.1	24,657	2.8	35,457	2.1
France.....	8,068	1.5	9,550	1.1	11,855	1.1
Germany.....	29,701	5.3	42,529	4.9	61,472	5.2
Ireland.....	54,421	9.7	62,962	7.3	63,138	5.2
Italy.....	4,660	.8	7,537	.9	15,495	1.4
Norway.....	1,000	.2	1,765	.2	3,702	.3
Scotland.....	4,949	.9	6,465	.7	9,299	1.1
Sweden.....	1,944	.4	4,209	.5	10,923	1.1
Switzerland.....	2,927	.5	5,308	.6	9,743	.8
Other nationalities.	32,779	5.9	41,267	4.8	48,131	3.9
Total.....	560,247	100.00	864,694	100.0	1,208,130	100.0

TABLE IV.  
COMPARISON OF ALMSHOUSE POPULATION WITH POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA, CONDENSED FROM TABLES II AND III, SHOWING PREVALENT NATIONALITIES.

	Census, 1870.	Census, 1880.	Census, 1890.	Average of Almshouse Inmates for 25 Years.
	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
California.....	30.4	37.7	31.3	5.9
Other states.....	31.4	28.4	39.5	20.5
Canada.....	1.2	1.6	2.2	1.7
China.....	8.7	8.5	5.7	.2
England.....	3.1	2.8	2.1	6.1
France.....	1.5	1.1	1.1	5.0
Germany.....	5.3	4.9	5.2	7.0
Ireland.....	9.7	7.3	5.2	41.3
Italy.....	.8	.9	1.4	.7
Norway.....	.2	.2	.3	.6
Scotland.....	.9	.7	1.1	2.6
Sweden.....	.4	.5	1.1	1.4
Switzerland.....	.5	.6	.8	1.0
Other nationalities.....	5.9	4.8	3.9	5.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

mates. It should be remembered that, owing to the recent settlement of this State, there are as yet scarcely two adult generations of native Californians. This favorable showing is therefore likely to be altered somewhat by the census of 1900. It is sometimes said that Californians are supporting the pauper and criminal overflow of foreign countries and the Eastern States; but as the "native Californian" himself is the son or grandson of a foreigner or an Easterner, the complaint is reduced to absurdity.

Other States of the Union average nearly 10 per cent less of the almshouse population than of the population of the State; England, France, and Germany constitute from 2 to 4 per cent more in the former than in the latter, while Ireland alone presents the startling variation from an average of 7.4 in the population at large to 41.3 of the almshouse inmates. These latter figures corroborate many others of a similar character. In New York State, of 4328 almshouse cases, 34.3 were of Irish birth, although only 9 per cent of the population were of this nationality at that time.

In Warner's tables the Irish represent an average of 24 per cent of 7225 cases from the charity societies of Baltimore, Boston, New Haven, and New York, varying from 10.2 in Boston to 58.7 in New Haven.\* It cannot, however, be inferred from these figures that the Irish in this country are more likely to become paupers than the native Americans. To make a fair comparison, it would be necessary to leave out of the account all Americans above the laboring classes, since only those come from Ireland who belong to these classes, and to allow for the disproportionate number of children among the native born. It is, however, perfectly clear that the Irish are at present contributing a much larger quota to the poverty-stricken and pauper classes of California, and of many other portions of the United States, than is any other foreign nationality.

An intelligent Irish domestic has suggested the explanation: "They're just ready to be paupers when they come

\* Tenth Annual Report New York State Board of Charities, 1877, p. 100.

over. There is n't any use trying to get ahead in Ireland, for whatever you put on the land only makes the rent more ; so there is n't any use saving. And they can't be strong, because they live mostly on potatoes, corn-meal, and sour milk." This suggests that to the instability of the Celtic temperament may thus be added the want of balance arising from mal-nutrition and unthrift. Professor Warner has noticed that the "children of European immigrants usually drink either less or more than their parents, and those who drink resort to the stronger liquors."\*

Side by side with this fact we must place another: That for many years many prominent politicians in such cities as Boston, New York, and Chicago have been Irishmen,† and that throughout the country, wherever an Irishman is successful, he attains a degree of prosperity seldom equalled by any other immigrant. It would appear that a sharp differentiation begins among these immigrants on their arrival here. American life, with its new, stimulating, and dangerous conditions, becomes a test of organic quality, and every foreign element, not later than the second generation, survives or succumbs by virtue of its power to adapt itself to a new environment. Among the Irish, the few rise to thrift, competence, political power,— even greatness ; many people the almshouses in the first, and it may be the prisons in the second, generation.‡

Irish women constitute 59.2 of almshouse women, while the Irish nationality as a whole supplies 41.3 per cent of the total almshouse population. For reasons discussed under the headings "Occupation" and "Marital Condition," these women are less efficient in domestic employments, more liable to drink, and more illiterate than others, as well as less well developed and trained than men of their own class.

\* *American Charities*, p. 65.

† Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. I, p. 21.

‡ Falkner, R. P. *Statistics of Prisoners*, 1890, pp. 14, 15 ; *Seventeenth Annual Report*, New York State Reformatory, Elmira, N. Y. ; *Municipal Reports of San Francisco*.

If to the characteristics of Celtic temperament in the mass be added the emotional instability of women, it is easy to see that the Irish woman of the immigrant class could scarcely fail to exhibit the results of so fatal a combination in an overwhelming preponderance in the alms-house.

TABLE V. MARITAL CONDITION AND NATIVITY.

	United States.		England.		Ireland.		Scot-land.	Ger-many.	Can-ada.	Other Countries.	Total.	
	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Per Cent.
Married <sup>1</sup> .	3	7.8	2	11.8	6	4.50	....	....	....	2	13	5.7
Widows..	18	47.4	13	76.4	96	71.20	5	8	4	11	155	68.1
Deserted												
Wives..	6	15.8	....	....	10	7.40	....	2	....	2	20	8.7
Single												
Women.	10	26.4	2	11.8	21	15.50	....	1	2	....	36	15.8
Doubtful.	1	2.6	....	....	2	1.48	....	....	....	1	4	1.7
	38	100.0	17	100.0	135	100.00	5	11	6	16	228	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Not supported by husbands, most of them probably deserted. One colored woman.

The number of widows is very large, *i. e.*, 68.1 per cent. In the Tenth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities, of 6231 women, only 24 per cent were widows. A much larger proportion of Irish women than Americans are widows, while the marriages of one-fourth of the American women have turned out badly, as against one-eighth among Irish women. Of other nationalities the number is too small to be considered.

Mr. George E. Vincent calls attention to the disruption of the family produced by widowhood. He says: "When the head of the family dies without leaving an accumulation of wealth, the burden of support falls upon the wife,—a condition manifestly pathological."\* Mr. Booth gives numerous instances where widowhood in itself has been a cause of pauperism.† The difference between men and women in this

\* An Introduction to the Study of Society, p. 279.

† Pauperism : A Picture. See Index.



respect is significant. Women of the laboring classes are on the whole less incapacitated for self-support by motherhood and domestic employments than other women, but the fact remains that when a woman is done with marriage she is seldom fit for anything. This may be a necessary result, and, if the number of dependent women in society were proportionally represented by the almshouse women, would be a matter for no special comment. But the large number of semi-dependent women everywhere raises the question whether every woman should not be trained for two possible destinies instead of one, as men are. If the common woman were intelligently trained for self-support as well as the duties of marriage, the spectacle of the disruption and dependence of families because of woman's incapacity would be comparatively rare. Another phase of the same question is discussed under the head of "Occupation."

*Ancestry.*

TABLE VI. ANCESTRY OF 228 ALMSHOUSE WOMEN.

	Number.
Peasant.....	113
Respectable laboring people.....	26
Good.....	8
Unknown.....	81
Total.....	228

This was one of the most difficult questions to get answered. Many of the women refused to talk of their early homes at all, and many more could not describe definitely the character of parents and relatives. From the appearance, degree of education, and social ideas of the women, the writer would infer that at least three-fourths of the "unknown" in Table VI might properly be placed under "peasant." Even among the foreigners an effort was made to draw a distinction between the lowest class of peasantry and the

somewhat higher grade, well-to-do peasant farmer. This latter class is combined with the corresponding type in America under the head "Respectable Laboring People."

So much may, perhaps, be inferred, that three-fourths of these 228 women were the children of parents who were, if not paupers, at least in that stratum where poverty tended to make them the sport of all the causes which produce pauperism.

*Children.*

TABLE VII. CHILD-BEARING CAPACITY OF 228 ALMSHOUSE WOMEN.

	United States.		England.		Ireland.		Scot-land.	Ger-many.	Can-ada.	Other Coun-tries.	Total.	
	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Per Cent.
<sup>1</sup> Single women who have not borne children	8	21.1	2	11.8	21	15.6	....	1	1	1	34	14.9
Married women who have not borne children	10	26.3	2	11.8	28	20.8	....	1	2	2	45	19.7
Women who have borne children .. . .	19	50.0	11	64.6	78	57.8	3	8	3	12	134	58.8
Unknown .....	1	2.6	2	11.8	8	5.8	2	1	....	1	15	6.6
Total.....	38	100.0	17	100.0	135	100.0	5	11	6	16	228	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Two single women (United States) are known to have had children.

Table VII shows the comparative fertility of three nationalities,—American, English, and Irish. One-fourth of the married women are childless. In France alone does the number rise so high. Compared with the figures for Massachusetts and England,\* where only one-seventh of the married women are childless, this is somewhat startling. It may be that a number of women put down as childless have had premature births, which they have now forgotten, but this cannot wholly do away with the difference. As might have been expected, there are more barren women among Americans than foreigners; but that one-fourth of the married Irish women should prove barren is not easily explained.

\* Farr, Vital Statistics.

TABLE VIII. NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY NATIVITY OF MOTHERS.

	United States.		England.		Ireland.		Scot-land.	Ger-many.	Can-ada.	Other Coun-tries.	Total.	
	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Per Cent.
Living.....	27	65.9	15	28.8	111	37.6	4	10	6	11	184	39.1
Dead.....	10	24.4	26	50.0	139	47.6	6	3	....	27	211	44.8
Still-born...	1	2.4	3	5.8	18	6.2	....	....	....	4	26	5.5
Several <sup>1</sup> ....	3	7.3	8	15.4	25	8.6	3	8	....	3	50	10.6
Total.....	41	100.0	52	100.0	293	100.0	13	21	6	45	471	100.0

<sup>1</sup> The word "several" is counted as equivalent to three,—the number of children in the average family.

Of the children by American mothers, one-fourth died; by English and Irish mothers, one-half died; by mothers of other nationalities, nearly one-half died. The survival of children depends chiefly on two things: the vitality of the mother and the hygienic care which they receive. If anything could be inferred from so small numbers, it would be that American children receive better care than those of foreigners.

Sixteen women could only remember that they had had "several" children, whether now living or dead they could not tell. Degeneration had reduced them to the forgetfulness of offspring characteristic of the lower animals. An attempt was made to ascertain the number of still-born children, but feebleness of mind in the old, and the incidental character of such an experience in the minds of most women of this class, made it impossible to secure satisfactory results. The writer is convinced, however, in view of the conditions described by the women, that this should be a much larger factor in the table, and that the proportion of living and dead children would thus be greatly altered. Assuming that one-half of the "several" children are dead, about one-half of the total number of children born are dead.

By a computation based on American mortality tables, an attempt was made to ascertain whether this stock would ex-

tinguish itself, and if so, how soon. But the data concerning ancestry and ages of children were so meagre that the large number of assumptions required in the statement of the problem rendered the results valueless. It is evident, however, that the stock as a whole is declining rather than increasing in numbers. But it must not be forgotten that it is a mixed stock, and may include within itself strains, or families, having powers of reproduction more than sufficient to perpetuate their kind.

TABLE IX.  
CONDITION OF LIVING CHILDREN OF 228 WOMEN INMATES OF SAN FRANCISCO ALMS-  
HOUSE.

	Number.	Per Cent.
Lost sight of, i. e., "somewhere"....	40	22.5
Self-supporting.....	86	46.0
In institutions.....	21	25.0
Vicious, immoral, drunken.....	13	
Sickly, diseased, unfortunate.....	5	
With relatives.....	8	
Unknown.....	11	6.5
Total.....	184	100.0

Of the 184 living children, 86 are reported by their mothers to be self-supporting, but it must be said that these women almost invariably exaggerate any favorable circumstances, making it appear that their children and their relatives are as well off as possible. They give all sorts of plausible reasons why these children do not support them; but the fact is, as the stories show, that 19 women have been cast off by their relatives or children because of their drunken, vicious, or filthy habits; 2 women, because the almshouse is a cheaper place to keep them than an insane asylum or a lodging house; 9, because the children are ashamed of them. This latter phase is not adequately represented by the figures. One of the commonest results of immigration seems to be that the children acquire a public-school education, become prosperous, and rise in social sta-

tion; the old mother or father — foreign, uneducated, often vulgar, and unpresentable — becomes an unwelcome reminder of their common origin, and does not fit into the American life of the children. They are therefore quietly thrown back into the almshouse, where they will be reasonably comfortable and unknown to the children's friends. The old people are often resigned to their fate because they are led to believe that the almshouse is a State institution, and that it is the business of the State to take care of them. Often it hurts their pride less to be dependent on that abstract thing, "the State," than upon children and relatives who are ashamed of them. Five have quarrelled with daughters or grandchildren, and are in the almshouse because of spite on one side or the other. This again is a larger factor than appears in numbers. A crotchety, quarrelsome, sensitive old woman, who can do very little work and who thinks much should be done for her, is a serious burden in any poor family, and a source of family trouble anywhere. The majority of women in the almshouse are difficult of temper, and doubtless this was originally a cause of separation from their families in many cases where it does not appear in their stories. Three could be partially supported by their children if they could do even a little housework well or could be left alone at home. In twelve cases there were children who were able, from the mother's own story, to support her, but no satisfactory reason why they did not do so was given.

Of the 184 children, 40 are "somewhere"; that is, they have been separated from the mother in one way or another, and she no longer knows where they are. In the majority of cases this occurs because the mother cannot write, or writes with difficulty, not having the habit, and does not therefore keep her connection with her children. The children, usually of the laboring class, drift from one place to another at work, write less and less often, until finally an illness, a lost letter, a wrong address, some trivial accident, breaks the last link which bound them together. The fact that the parent is usually a foreigner, the immensity of this country, and the

mobility of the laboring classes, all tend to produce the same pitiable result,—a condition undoubtedly peculiar to American pauperism.

Of the children 5 are sickly or diseased ; 13 are vicious, immoral, or drunken ; 8 are dependent on relatives, which, with 21 who are in institutions, makes a total of 47, or 25 per cent, — who are definitely known to belong to the dependent and delinquent classes. Although the character of these women suggests that we are dealing with incipient rather than chronic pauperism, this percentage in the second generation is larger than is given in other American cases. In the study of New York almshouses 22 per cent of 7040 living children were found to be of the dependent or delinquent classes.\* Warner comments on these figures as follows: "It should also be noted that a considerable number of those self-dependent at the time would probably with advancing years become public charges ; and while some of those in a condition of dependency would perhaps eventually become self-supporting," they would hardly become so as a permanent thing. It is doubtful if half these children would get through life without a taint of dependency."†

Twenty-one of the 184 living children are in institutions, chiefly orphanages. The law of California passed in 1883, and only just repealed (1894-95), giving \$100 per year for every orphan, and \$75 per year for every half-orphan, to any institution which maintains ten or more children, has facilitated the abandonment of children to State care. The idea which prevails so widely among the foreign population, that it is the business of the State to take care of the destitute and helpless, leads in two directions,—to the almshouse and the orphan asylum,—and tends constantly to weaken the self-respect of that portion of the poor who are on the verge of non-support.

Concerning the remaining 11 children nothing could be ascertained.

\* Tenth Annual Report of New York State Board of Charities, p. 108.

† American Charities, p. 187.

TABLE X.  
AGES OF INMATES OF SAN FRANCISCO ALMSHOUSE, 1867-94.  
(From Municipal Reports of San Francisco, 1867-94).

	Under One Year.	One to 9 Years.	10 to 19 Years.	Average Age of all Inmates.	Average Age of Women Inmates.
1867-68.....	....	7	10	45 1-3	....
1868-69.....	....	24	11	39 1-4	....
1869-70.....	....	32	20	35 1-6	....
1870-71.....	4	31	12	40 1-5	....
1871-72.....	9	26	7	42 1-18	....
1872-73.....	8	19	9	45 1-2	....
1873-74.....	7	51	12	42	....
1874-75.....	13	41	17	44	....
1875-76.....	9	40	16	43	....
1876-77.....	9	58	23	45	....
1877-78.....	11	45	17	45	....
1878-79.....	8	31	8	46	....
1879-80.....	8	39	12	47	....
1880-81.....	9	49	17	47 2-3	....
1881-82.....	5	28	8	50 1-15	....
1882-83.....	2	20	8	50 1-2	....
1883-84.....	4	23	7	50 1-4	....
1884-85.....	2	13	6	53 7-10	....
1885-86.....	2	10	11	55	....
1886-87.....	1	7	3	56 1-2	....
1887-88.....	....	11	13	54 1-6	....
1888-89.....	4	11	8	54	....
1889-90.....	4	1	8	54	....
1890-91.....	1	2	7	55 1-6	....
1891-92.....	....	....	6	55 1-4	....
1892-93.....	....	....	4	59 3-5	....
1893-94.....	....	....	10	59 1-8	63 1-3

As in all almshouses in the United States formerly, and in many still, there were a considerable number of children in the San Francisco almshouse until 1890. Under the new management children have been placed in institutions or in families as soon as places could be found for them. No children or young persons are now admitted, and the few remaining in the almshouse are defectives, for whom there seems to be no place in other institutions. With the removal of children the average age of inmates has steadily risen from 36 1-6 years in 1870 to 59 1-8 years in 1894. It is noticeable that the average age of the women is sixty-three years and four months, considerably higher than that of all inmates. This may be accounted for by the character of



household employments which may be carried on by women until a later age than is possible with men, or perhaps because the compassion of relatives and of the world toward an old woman lengthens her bread-earning period.

*Education.*

The following table shows the degrees of education represented by these almshouse women : —

TABLE XI.

EDUCATION OF 228 ALMSHOUSE WOMEN IN SAN FRANCISCO, COMPARED WITH EDUCATION OF NEW YORK ALMSHOUSE INMATES.

	San Francisco.		New York.
	Number.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
None.....	72	31.7	31.5
Read.....	51	22.4	14.7
Read and write.....	51	22.4	24.2
Common school.....	20	8.7	29.6
Good, <i>i. e.</i> , high school or higher.....	5	2.1	....
Unknown.....	29	12.7	....
Total.....	228	100.0	100.0

In any given class in society the women will be less educated than the men on the average. Very few of the almshouse women desire to read ; even those who read and write generally do so with difficulty. On the other hand, most of the men read all they can get, and there is rarely enough literature to supply them. The same difference between the sexes is indicated by comparing the figures introduced from the New York report, which are based on a mixed almshouse population. Some one has said that what was formerly an education,—*i. e.*, the three R's,—is in this age practical illiteracy. Judged by this standard, at least 88 per cent of these women are illiterate.

*Occupation.*

Table XII, of occupation of all inmates, indicates that the numbers in each occupation have increased in surprisingly uniform proportion throughout this period of twenty-five years. Common laborers average 25.6 per cent through twenty-five years ; housekeepers and servants (mostly



TABLE XII.  
OCCUPATIONS OF INMATES OF SAN FRANCISCO ALMSHOUSE, 1869-94.  
(From Municipal Reports of San Francisco, 1869-94).

	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	Total.	Per Cent.
Blacksmiths.....	7	4	1	7	4	3	2	2	..	4	2	6	1	2	1	1	4	6	12	14	23	22	9	21	16	172	1.7
Butchers.....	2	1	2	5	3	1	3	4	4	1	..	9	10	5	10	5	9	6	9	6	11	5	6	10	10	134	.9
Carpenters.....	15	14	11	10	11	18	12	18	11	8	12	18	15	20	13	13	14	24	36	29	51	27	26	479	3.3	479	3.3
Clerks.....	3	7	5	7	5	9	5	4	8	8	12	13	19	7	7	10	6	9	24	12	15	19	27	21	19	281	1.9
Cooks.....	23	17	12	14	26	11	12	29	19	11	16	30	19	28	25	33	28	35	32	44	43	51	44	40	45	696	4.8
Farmers.....	14	13	14	4	10	13	3	9	..	..	3	14	15	4	22	6	12	14	11	13	19	16	13	19	15	286	2.0
Gardeners.....	3	4	5	3	3	4	1	6	2	2	5	10	5	3	6	6	8	10	16	9	8	15	9	10	8	161	1.1
Housekeepers.....	16	14	6	7	28	49	24	32	32	23	29	52	64	65	40	64	43	66	70	52	44	52	53	44	30	999	6.9
Labors.....	123	83	60	89	86	168	101	204	172	504	169	119	126	98	108	92	75	106	131	177	224	210	244	268	226	3,663	25.6
Machinists.....	..	1	1	3	..	2	..	5	2	..	2	..	3	2	1	6	3	2	4	11	12	9	13	4	7	93	.6
Miners.....	18	14	20	15	17	11	12	12	10	6	9	16	31	14	23	21	18	28	29	42	45	31	30	39	21	532	3.7
Painters.....	3	..	1	1	..	..	4	6	5	5	6	11	6	10	5	10	2	10	12	13	8	14	15	11	18	176	1.2
Peelers.....	..	2	4	..	3	7	7	5	..	4	5	7	6	2	6	7	5	8	11	10	17	14	17	7	18	172	1.2
Sailors.....	15	16	14	17	19	15	12	25	18	10	19	19	27	17	26	22	16	16	22	25	32	40	30	29	31	532	3.7
Servants.....	11	12	19	13	28	37	34	26	31	14	68	43	20	23	30	28	24	26	40	84	69	75	94	78	44	971	6.8
Shoemakers.....	5	3	4	4	4	6	4	10	3	9	5	12	4	7	13	15	10	19	11	11	13	9	12	13	5	211	1.4
Waiters.....	4	6	5	..	4	..	..	7	3	7	9	9	9	13	20	12	8	15	5	13	15	9	21	26	11	231	1.6
Other occupations (25-69)*.....	81	70	85	65	68	62	34	68	45	87	81	97	89	106	121	144	121	154	173	218	186	242	234	229	230	3,090	21.6
No occupation.....	1	3	15	26	19	11	36	50	34	55	48	13	44	12	32	16	12	10	9	8	3	10	..	9	10	486	3.4
Under 19 years... ..	62	47	42	36	70	71	65	90	73	47	59	75	31	30	34	21	23	11	24	23	13	10	6	4	10	967	6.6
Total.....	396	331	326	326	408	496	371	611	472	506	500	564	543	483	538	545	456	508	606	824	832	882	928	918	800	14,332	100.0

\* In 1891-92 "other occupations" were as follows: bookkeeper, baker, barkeeper, broker, broommaker, bootblack, boxmaker, boilermaker, bookbinder, bricklayer, barber, cigarmaker, currier, coachman, cartiagemaker, caulker, candymaker, cooper, costumer, druggist, dressmaker, dairyman, dentist, engineer, fisherman, fireman, furrier, glazier, glovecutter, hotelkeeper, jeweler, janitor, laundryman, lumberman, moulder, musician, marble-polisher, merchant, nurse, plasterer, plumber, porter, printer, roofer, stewards, shingler, stableman, stavedores, stenographer, silversmith, saddler, strawworker, saloonkeeper, seamstress, stonemason, sculptor, tailor, teamster, teacher, tinmith, tanner, upholsterer, watchmaker, weaver, and woodturner. Of this list bakers, stablemen, stavedores, and teamsters only are represented by more than 10 persons, and that only during the last five years.

women), 13.7. The predominance of certain occupations through so long a period suggests that there may be something inherent in the occupation itself to produce this result. The number in a given occupation varies not only with the number in the total population, but with the degree of skill required. Of the trades in the list, that of machinist probably requires the most skill. This shows for only 6 per cent, as against 25.6 per cent of common laborers. However, want of skill may be either a cause or an effect. It may be that the person lacked ambition or ability to acquire a trade, and consequently fell into the lower stratum; or that, not having a chance to learn a trade, though capable, he is kept in the ranks, where competition is most severe and opportunity for training impossible. That which anybody can do is ill paid and therefore degenerative in itself. "Laborers" is a term covering not only men who have no trade, but casual laborers, of whom the climatic and industrial conditions of California produce an unusually large number. Following next in order of numbers are housekeepers (all women) and servants (mostly women). Carpenters (3.2), miners (3.7), sailors (3.7), and those having no occupation (3.4) are the only others in sufficient numbers to be significant.

TABLE XIII. OCCUPATIONS OF 228 ALMSHOUSE WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number.	Sub-Totals.
Domestic (married life and domestic service).....	184	193
Laundress.....	3	
Nurse.....	6	
Dressmaker.....	7	17
Seamstress.....	8	
Tailoress.....	2	
Storekeeper.....	1	18
Carpet factory.....	1	
Janitress.....	1	
Street beggar.....	1	
Peddler.....	2	
Teacher.....	1	
Actress in comedy.....	1	
Shoe fitter.....	1	
Rancher.....	1	
Speculator and fortune-teller.....	1	
Singer in a dive.....	2	
None.....	5	
	228	228

✓ Domestic occupations unfit women for self-support, because they belong to what Miss Addams, of Hull House, calls the "belated" trades. Eighty-two per cent of the almshouse women have been married, but the kind of house-keeping which they carried on in their own homes fitted them only for the lowest class of domestic labor. The married life of an uneducated woman is consumed in the most exhausting of duties, — child-bearing, which frequently results in lack of ambition, and in a round of small routine duties and petty details of the most unsystematic sort. Her audience is small and uncritical. The woman who sets type or works at a loom knows that punctuality, skill, energy, are essential if she keeps her place: the wife has no such incentive. Whatever cleverness and ambition she had is worn away in domestic processes, so that if widowed or deserted, even before middle life, domestic service is her only resource, and even for that her home life has wholly unfitted her. Most almshouse women frankly regard marriage as a means of escape from self-dependence, and many of them grieve for dead husbands and children chiefly because support is no longer forthcoming. Widowhood as a cause of dependence has been discussed elsewhere (page 233), and should be considered in this connection.

It may be objected that there are not so many housekeepers and servants in the almshouse, in proportion to the number in those occupations in the population, as of men in any occupation in which there is an equal number engaged. It must be said, however, that the world recognizes the inevitable dependence of women by considering it a most disgraceful thing for relatives or children to allow an old woman to go to the almshouse. On the other hand, men are supposed to have had their chance to lay up money, and if they have not done so they must take the consequences. This one-sided filial obligation keeps large numbers of women out of the almshouse who are wholly dependent. One instance may illustrate: A professional man with a wife and children

also supports three sisters-in-law and two sisters, because they are "ladies," and the sense of family obligation will not allow them to become a public care. They are all able-bodied and housekeepers of the conventional type. If they were men the situation would be absurd. The almshouse women are for the most part only the dregs of society, and perhaps not so much worse than the much larger number whose incapacity makes them absolutely dependent on private support.

It must be answered also that housekeeping is not a single occupation, but a group of occupations. The washerwoman may become a skilled laundress, earning from \$40 to \$60 per month; the family cook may become a skilled cook at \$35 to \$50 per month; the fine sewer may, by learning the trade, be a dressmaker or a tailoress. But the ordinary housewife must usually be all of these things, as well as housemaid, nurse, and wife. That she should be able to do none of them well enough to earn her own living is only a logical result. It is a suggestive fact in this connection that "cooks" (4.8 almost all men) rank in the list next to housekeepers (6.9) and servants (6.8). Even "waiters," the only other men engaged in domestic labor, stand for 1.6 per cent. So long as the standard of domestic service is so low, and so long as it must compete with other more inviting employments now open to women, only the least skilled women will go into it. It has become the first resort of the ignorant and the last of the pauperized. The influence is thus reciprocal; domestic occupations, especially among the laboring classes, tend to pauperize women, while the character of women undertaking them lowers the standard of skill required.

To discuss the remedies for this state of things does not come within the scope of this paper, but it may be noted that certain radical changes in the character and requirements of domestic labor are already evolving an altogether different standard for both housewife and domestic. These may be briefly enumerated as follows:—

1. Occupations requiring special skill and training are being taken out of the house, as, for instance, dressmaking, washing, baking, fruit canning, and other kinds of cooking.

2. Kitchen apparatus of many kinds is being introduced which requires much intelligence to use.

3. The scarcity of women domestics has raised the standard of wages, which leads men (notably the Chinese and Japanese in California) into domestic service. This in turn is raising the standard of skill required for such occupations.

4. Coöperative schemes on a small scale among families are gaining ground.

#### *Causes of Pauperism.*

At a glance it is evident that certain causes which appear in tables of mixed population do not here appear at all. There is no case of "lack of work," owing to the fact that unskilled domestic employment is always to be had in the Northern and Western United States without difficulty, the demand always being greater than the supply. "Trade misfortune," comparatively common in thickly-settled manufacturing districts, does not appear, while "accident," amounting to 4 to 5 per cent in some tables,\* gives here only 1.7 per cent. On the other hand, in tables in which men constitute the larger number of cases, "failure of support" and "desertion" are scarcely mentioned, while "temper" counts for a much smaller percentage than among women.

It is evident, from a careful study of the stories, that "pauper association and heredity" as causes would not be found among the class of persons studied. The conditions of a new country and an immigrant population could only produce incipient pauperism; chronic pauperism has scarcely had time to develop, and among a foreign population seldom gets so far from the port of landing as California.

Speculation is probably unique as a cause of pauperism among women; it suggests the early days of California,

\* Booth, *Pauperism : A Picture*, p. 10.

TABLE XIV. CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AND NATIVITY.

The sum of the causes of pauperism in each case is assumed to be 10. The principal cause may count as 5 or more units, while the contributory causes may be 5 or less, as, for instance, case No. 48 (see Table XVII), principal cause, sickness 5, contributory causes, neglect by relatives 3, old age 2.

		California.	Other States.	Canada.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Germany.	France.	Switzerland.	Other Coun-tries.	Total Princi-pal.	Total Con-tributory.	Total.
Number of cases.....		7	31	6	17	135	5	11	3	3	10	...	...	228
1. Intemperance.....	P.	..	17	..	25	235	12	7	..	10	..	306	...	...
	C.	..	7	5	7	60	..	2	..	..	5	...	86	392
2. Drug habit.....	P.	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	...	...
	C.	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	20
3. Immorality.....	P.	8	22	..	12	62	..	5	..	..	..	109	...	...
	C.	..	8	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	122
4. Shiftlessness and inefficiency.....	P.	..	5	..	10	107	..	..	..	10	5	137	...	...
	C.	..	8	2	5	27	3	..	..	..	..	..	45	182
5. Crime.....	P.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	C.	..	..	..	..	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	8	8
6. Temper.....	P.	..	..	..	8	30	..	..	..	..	..	38	...	...
	C.	7	..	..	3	21	..	2	..	..	..	..	33	71
7. Stinginess.....	P.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	C.	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10
8. Speculation.....	P.	..	27	..	10	5	..	..	..	..	..	42	...	...
	C.	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	45
9. Neglect by relatives.....	P.	..	..	10	..	49	..	7	..	..	..	66	...	...
	C.	..	26	..	11	72	..	11	..	..	10	...	130	196
10. No support.....	P.	15	10	5	12	50	7	3	..	..	18	120	...	...
	C.	..	10	5	..	34	3	..	..	..	5	..	57	177
11. Accident.....	P.	..	15	..	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	40	...	...
	C.	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	45
12. Sickness.....	P.	15	40	17	20	151	10	24	10	..	25	312	...	...
	C.	..	16	3	2	26	..	1	..	..	7	..	45	357
13. Physical defect...	P.	7	5	..	..	37	..	..	..	..	..	49	...	...
	C.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49
14. Mental deficiency	P.	10	12	..	..	30	10	..	..	10	5	77	...	...
	C.	8	5	..	5	13	5	5	..	..	..	..	41	118
15. Insanity.....	P.	..	35	5	15	86	..	15	..	..	5	161	...	...
	C.	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	171
16. Old age.....	P.	..	22	5	5	112	..	15	10	..	15	184	...	...
	C.	..	7	3	5	98	..	10	10	..	..	..	133	317
	*													
Total.....		70	310	60	170	1,350	50	110	30	30	100	1,656	624	2280

\* P = Principal ; C = Contributory.

when the gold fever and speculation in mining stocks ruined thousands. It is not surprising that so abnormal a state of society should have affected women as well as men.

Drug habits are apparently not so prevalent among the women as might have been anticipated in a country where they have become appallingly common, but this may be only because they are, of all injurious habits, the most easily concealed.

TABLE XV.

CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AND NATIVITY (CONDENSED FROM TABLE XIV).

		United States.		England.		Ireland.		Germany.	Other Countries.	Total.
		Units	Per Cent.	Units	Per Cent.	Units	Per Cent.	Units.	Units.	Per Cent.
1. Intemperance....	P.	17	4.4	25	14.7	235	17.4	7	22	13.4
	C.	7	1.9	7	4.1	60	4.5	2	10	3.8
2. Immorality.....	P.	30	7.9	12	7.1	62	4.6	5	....	4.8
	C.	8	2.1	....	....	5	.4	....	....	.6
3. Shiftlessness and inefficiency.....	P.	6	1.3	10	5.9	107	7.9	....	15	6.0
	C.	8	2.1	5	2.9	27	2.0	....	5	1.9
4. Neglect by relatives.....	P.	....	....	....	....	49	3.7	7	10	2.9
	C.	26	6.8	11	6.5	72	5.3	11	10	5.7
5. No support.....	P.	25	6.6	12	7.1	50	3.7	3	30	5.3
	C.	10	2.6	....	....	34	2.5	....	13	2.5
6. Sickness.....	P.	55	14.5	20	11.8	151	11.2	24	62	13.7
	C.	6	1.6	2	1.2	26	1.9	1	10	1.9
9. Mental deficiency	P.	22	5.8	....	....	30	2.2	....	25	3.4
	C.	13	3.4	5	2.9	13	.9	5	5	1.8
8. Insanity.....	P.	35	9.2	15	8.8	86	6.4	15	10	7.1
	C.	5	1.3	....	....	5	.4	....	....	.4
9. Temper.....	P.	....	....	8	4.7	30	2.2	....	....	1.7
	C.	7	1.8	3	1.8	21	1.6	2	....	1.5
10. Old age.....	P.	22	5.8	5	2.9	112	8.3	15	30	8.1
	C.	7	1.9	5	2.9	98	7.3	10	13	5.8
11. Other causes.....	P.	69	18.2	10	5.9	67	4.9	....	....	6.4
	C.	3	.8	15	8.8	10	.7	3	....	1.3
	*									
Total.....		380	100.0	170	100.0	1,350	100.0	110	270	100.0
Number of cases.....		38	....	17	....	135	....	11	27	228.0

\* P = Principal ; C = Contributory.

Only the predisposing and subjective causes have been ascertained. Since 83 per cent of the women are immigrants, the objective causes in environment would be exceedingly difficult to find out. At the suggestion of Professor A. G. Warner\* an attempt has been made to give a numerical

\* American Charities, first edition, p. 35.

estimate of the relative value of principal and contributory causes. This is indeed a purely arbitrary method, but serves to indicate more accurately the net-work of conditions, no one of which would produce pauperism. Very seldom does one cause alone bring a woman to the almshouse.

*Intemperance.*

Although 33.5 per cent of the women are known to have been intemperate, drink appears as only 13.4 per cent of the principal causes, and 3.8 per cent of the contributory,—a total of 17 per cent. This agrees with Mr. Booth's conclusions that only 25 per cent of chronic pauperism is attributable to drink, while in cases of incipient pauperism it may fall to 10 per cent. Mr. Booth says: \* "It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met."

As in Warner's tables,† the Irish are apparently more affected by drink than other nationalities, for while 59 per cent of the women are Irish, 72 per cent of the units of intemperance is attributable to them. Again, as in Mr. Booth's tables,‡ "the married drink much more than the single, but it may be taken that it is in connection with the responsibilities of married life that the consequences of drink are fatal."

*Immorality* plays a smaller part than might have been expected, which may be accounted for in several ways. The San Francisco almshouse refuses to take in young women for confinement, on the ground that no proper care can be given them or their children. Again, some old women may have been immoral, but they are past the age when the fact is likely to be discovered. But undoubtedly the chief reason lies in the character of the women themselves. Irish women, although more seriously addicted to drink, are probably less unchaste as a class, both in the old country and in the

\* Pauperism : A Picture, p. 141. † American Charities, p. 46. ‡ Pauperism : A Picture, p. 249.



United States, than any other nationality. In this table they represent only 54 per cent of the units of "immorality," as against 59 per cent of the whole number of women, while American women, though only 16 per cent of the whole number, count for 31 per cent in immorality.

*Shiftlessness and Inefficiency* averages 7.9 per cent for the whole. In Warner's tables,\* comparing the causes of poverty in America, England, and Germany, it ranges from 1.8 per cent to 14 per cent, showing no considerable variation. As to nationalities, however, this cause among women varies widely from Warner's tables.† He says: "In shiftlessness and inefficiency the Americans lead all other well-represented nationalities, having here a percentage of 9.19, as against an average of 7.51. The Irish here fall much below the average, 5.78 per cent." In Table XV, of 228 women, the Irish lead with 9.9 per cent, followed by English women with 8.8, and Americans with 3.4,—a result decidedly different. Warner's tables represent, however, mixed population in which men greatly predominate; consequently, to account for this difference is not very difficult. The peasant Irish women are never trained at home in a way to become efficient in American households. Although quick, clever, and willing, they are careless, often slovenly and inaccurate. As suggested in discussing the degenerative effect of domestic employments, their own housekeeping is seldom of a sort to make them efficient domestics when thrown on their own resources. Katherine Tynan, in an article on the "Women of Ireland," says:‡ "Irish girls have not the training of the fingers that an English girl usually has; they have not the resource of needlework or fancy work except to a slight extent. . . . Families cannot afford to keep their sons at home idle, while in all classes except the most humble it is a tradition that the daughters should stay at home and go white-handed." Among the lower classes of the peasantry

\* American Charities, p. 38. † American Charities, p. 46. ‡ In the *Independent*, Feb. 21, 1895.

even, the women do no needlework except the making of lace and the coarse clothing of the family, and are chiefly occupied out of doors. Nothing in American life compensates for this want of home training in handicraft, and by the time they reach the almshouse it is evident enough why they cannot support themselves outside. The Irish women are a notable contrast to other foreign nationalities in this respect: they can scarcely be trusted to mend the coarse clothing of the almshouse men, while the Swedish and German women can always do crocheting, fine lace, needlework, or plain sewing. As a consequence the Irish women are much less contented and happy in the almshouse than the others. It is a striking characteristic, which comes out frequently in living among them, that those women who can do something well are comparatively contented and nearly always sweet-tempered.

*Neglect by Relatives* has been quite fully discussed in connection with the fate of the living children, on page 237. In Warner's tables\* this cause ranges from 0.8 to 2 per cent, while in Table XV of almshouse women it ranges from 6.5 among English women to 8.9 among the Irish. It would be natural to expect this cause to be much more common in a table of women alone than in any table of mixed population. The world expects an old man to take care of himself, because it is supposed that he has had an opportunity to lay up money for old age, while it accepts the dependence of a woman as the natural outcome of marriage, and no opportunity for thrift. This cause would frequently not be counted as such for a man under precisely the same conditions as make it unquestionably one for a woman. Since many old women are capable of partial self-support, neglect by relatives would naturally be a much larger contributory than principal cause.

*No Support* has been used to include not only death or desertion of the husband, but also death or incapacity of sons

\* *American Charities*, p. 34.

or brothers who have been a means of support. As compared with other tables\* which give from 4 to 19 per cent, this cause, giving here an average of 7.8, calls for no special comment.

*Sickness*, like drink, is tolerably constant, standing here for 15.6, as compared with a range of 15 to 30 per cent in other tables.† Of this cause Warner says: "The most constant cause of poverty everywhere, at all times, and according to all investigators, is sickness. . . . Personal acquaintance with the destitute classes has further convinced him that most of the causes of poverty result from or result in a weakened physical and mental constitution often merging into actual disease." Dugdale‡ says: "Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury, or for women, childbirth." That American women rise above the average may be accounted for by the ✓ large number of single women, 26 per cent of American women being single, as against 11 to 15 per cent of other nationalities. Booth§ attributes the greater amount of sickness among single women to lack of home care.

*Temper* averages 3.2 per cent, an amount which does not adequately represent its force. Nearly all the women are ✓ distinctly trying. Temper as a cause has been put down only in cases where the woman was extremely difficult. It is unquestionably a large factor in producing other causes, such as "neglect by relatives," "desertion" (included in ✓ "no support"), and insanity. Dr. Clarke, of Stockton Insane Asylum, has said that ungovernable temper is often the beginning of insanity. Dr. T. D. Wood, of Stanford University, suggests that it may be that the ill-nourished are the ill-tempered, and that temper is frequently a symptom of organic disease. Temper in a woman is frequently only a nervous explosion, similar in character to hysteria. ✓ Indulgence in such a habit, combined with an irritating environ-

\* American Charities, pp. 35-38. † American Charities, p. 40. ‡ The Jukes. § Pauperism: A Picture, p. 249.

ment and a weakened or a diseased nervous system, produces the kind of insanity most often seen in the almshouse. It is significant that the insanity percentage for American women is 10.5, as against 7.5 for the average of all and 6.8 for the Irish. As has been suggested before in discussing occupation, those women who possess the highest degree of manual skill are as a rule the most contented, and nearly always sweet-tempered. The training of the nervous system through the muscles tends to a better control of the sensory and emotional.

In recent years the insane asylums of California have been much overcrowded. As a consequence the Commissioners of Insanity will admit only those patients who are obviously and unquestionably insane. The matron has made repeated attempts to have some of these mildly but incurably insane women transferred to an asylum, but whenever the woman behaves quietly before the Commissioners it has been impossible to secure her commitment by any amount of verbal evidence.

*Old Age* here gives for the whole number an average of 13.9; for the Irish 15.6 and Americans 7.7. Mr. Booth\* has said much that applies to American as well as English conditions: "Very many of the old are poor, but old age is not responsible for their poverty. They were in most cases poor before they were old. Their lives have been the sport of all the other causes of poverty on our list. . . . Sickness and old age are so overwhelming and obvious as to draw a curtain over what has gone before; behind that curtain we doubtless might find some whose previous life offered another explanation of their condition. . . . But again, when we consider how many of the poor are old, we cannot escape the conclusion that poverty is essentially a trouble of old age."

Of the reasons which bring an increasing number of old persons to the almshouse, he says: "Life runs more intensely than it did, and the old tend to be thrown out. Not only

\* *Pauperism : A Picture*, pp. 148-9, 167-8.

does work on the whole go faster and require more perfect nerve, but it changes its character more frequently." He speaks of women "who have often spent lives of the most active and invaluable citizenship without ever having the smallest opportunity for saving. Their husbands give them from their wages the sum they think necessary for current expenses of the household, and expect a very full *quid pro quo* in solid comfort. Men often die, leaving an elderly widow entirely destitute, . . . and there may or may not be children to give their mother a home."

- It is a curious fact that women in an almshouse appear on the average ten years older than women of the same age outside. Having lived wholly on animal sensations and brute force, and having broken all the laws of health, they are completely exhausted as soon as the child-bearing period is over. By contrast, women of the higher classes, although less robust, live more hygienically and have mental ambition to postpone the coming of old age.

From this table the characteristic conditions of almshouse pauperism appear to be: Mental deficiency and disease (17.6 per cent), paralysis (14.9), insanity (12.4), rheumatism (8.4); while the characteristic habits are, good (39.6), intemperate (33.5), prostitute (4.8), profane, lying, and violent temper (3.9). Throwing out the unknown, the good habits show for 39.6 as against 51.1 per cent for the bad; those in good organic condition for 21.7 per cent as against 76.7 in bad condition.

The table suggests also that insanity, epilepsy, paralysis, syphilis, lameness, and general wreck are conditions especially associated with bad habits, and that deafness, blindness, rheumatism, and cancer are associated with absence of bad habits. It is obvious that the same want of control which leads to bad habits tends to want of balance of mind, and therefore might cause or assist in causing insanity. Of the insane, 31 per cent have been intemperate and 11 prostitutes. This is much larger than is given elsewhere.\* For a

\* Tenth Annual Report, New York State Board of Charities, p. 106.

TABLE XVI.  
HABITS AND ORGANIC CONDITION (INCLUDING DISEASE AND DEFECT).

	Criminal.	Violent temper, profane, lying.	Intemperate.	Prostitute.	Tobacco.	Drugs: opium, morphine, co- caine.	Filthy.	Masturbation.	Total Units Bad Habits.	Total Units Good Habits.	Unknown.	Total Units.	Total Per Cent.
Insanity.....	3	24	68	16	1	....	4	8	124	68	24	216	12.4
Feeble-mindedness.	1	8	45	13	16	....	....	....	83	68	41	192	11.3
Mentally below the average.....	..	..	14	....	....	....	10	....	24	48	10	82	4.7
Softening of the brain.....	..	4	8	....	8	....	....	....	20	....	8	28	1.6
Deafness.....	..	..	....	....	8	....	....	....	8	24	4	38	2.0
Blindness.....	..	..	2	2	....	....	....	....	4	16	12	32	1.8
Epilepsy.....	1	1	9	5	....	....	....	....	16	8	8	32	1.8
Paralysis.....	1	5	143	7	12	....	10	8	186	60	12	258	14.9
Rheumatism.....	..	4	24	....	8	....	....	....	36	110	....	146	8.4
Consumption.....	..	2	8	....	4	....	....	....	14	12	....	26	1.5
Bright's disease....	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	..	12	....	12	.7
Heart disease.....	..	2	9	....	1	....	....	....	12	8	....	20	1.1
Corpulence.....	..	..	4	....	8	....	....	....	12	16	8	36	2.1
Syphilis.....	..	1	12	29	....	4	2	....	48	16	....	64	3.7
Eczema.....	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	....	10	.6
Lameness (from ac- cident).....	..	6	34	....	4	....	....	....	44	24	....	68	3.9
Cancer.....	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	16	4	20	1.1
Asthma.....	..	..	4	....	4	....	....	....	8	4	....	12	.7
General wreck.....	..	..	36	4	....	....	....	....	40	8	8	56	3.2
None.....	..	10	160	4	4	12	16	....	206	160	24	390	22.5
Total number.....	6	67	580	84	74	16	42	16	885	688	163	1,736	....
Total per cent.....	.3	3.9	33.5	4.8	4.3	.9	2.4	.9	51.1	39.6	9.4	....	100.0

There was one case each of idiocy, blood poisoning, sexuality, pleurisy, sore legs, hysteria, spinal paralysis, cataract, black jaundice, uterine disease, and palsy, making the total number of cases represented by this table only 217. Since a particular case might have two diseases, and four bad habits, it was necessary to represent each by eight units distributed among these items, so as to represent accurately their relative weight. The word "good" is here used to express absence of bad habits as well as positive goodness.

similar reason epilepsy would be likely to be associated with intemperance and prostitution.

*Paralysis*, as a characteristic disease of pauperism, seems not to have attracted attention. Fourteen per cent of all cases are paralytics, and of these 55 per cent are intemperate and 20 per cent more have other bad habits. Whether this is a condition peculiar to American pauperism cannot be ascertained. It is well known that general paresis is rapidly

growing more common in this country, and that many insane persons are also paralytics. It may be that this hospital is more zealous in sending paralytics to the almshouse than is usual elsewhere.

✓ *Syphilitic* cases usually come directly from the hospital. When found to be incurable they are dispatched to the almshouse, where there are no conveniences for isolating them from others. They must eat, drink, and bathe with others, and the only precaution possible is to place them in a separate room with those who have the same disease. An attempt was made some years ago to send them to the pest-house, but the law gave the Mayor no jurisdiction, and an indifferent Board of Health would not do anything. Although syphilis is a common result of prostitution, two women who are self-respecting, honest, and cleanly have acquired it from unclean husbands. [It is a common belief among men of a certain class that they can rid themselves of syphilis by marrying a pure woman.] ?

It is significant that one-half of the women who are lame from accident are also intemperate. Blindness and deafness are misfortunes rather than the result of misconduct, while rheumatism is generally recognized as the disease of exhaustion and exposure to wet and cold, although often connected with drink also. Mr. Booth says: \* "The illnesses most frequently given as causes of pauperism may be divided into three groups: (1) those connected with unhealthy trades, usually lead poisoning in some form, or an affection of the chest from breathing noxious dust; (2) rheumatism; (3) diseases of the chest, bronchitis and consumption."

*Feeble-mindedness* and softening of the brain appear in this table to be more connected with bad habits, while "mentally below the average," i. e., stupidity, seems to be characterized by absence of good habits. It must be said, however, that it is very difficult for an observer untrained in medicine to make the clear distinctions necessary to an accurate discussion of these medico-sociological problems.

Contrary to Mr. Booth's results, bronchitis does not appear in the list, while asthma shows for only 0.7 per cent and con-

\* *Pauperism : A Picture*, p. 146-7.

sumption for 1.5. Since nearly all cases of severe disease come to the almshouse through the hospital, this may be explained by the fact that 10 per cent of the city and county hospital patients are consumptives, and 29 per cent of all the deaths there are from phthisis. In other words, the consumptives do not get to the almshouse.

Corpulence as a disease is the result chiefly of inactivity, often combined with over-eating. It shows here for certainly not more than in the same number of women in any other class in life.

It is commonly supposed that there are many persons in almshouses who were formerly in good social standing and financially prosperous. Although this has been more than once refuted,\* it is undoubtedly more true of the San Francisco almshouse† than of eastern institutions of the same character. Since, however, the women in the almshouse are noticeably of a lower grade than the men, there are few women who have been in circumstances above the laboring class. These few are Nos. 38, 68, 71, 76, 117, 159, 181, 199, and 200, whose stories are given in table XVII.

#### *Pauper Characteristics.*

Certain characteristics of almshouse men and women are curious exaggerations of the traits of ordinary human nature. The men will stand outside the dining-room for an hour in the rain rather than stay in the wards or assembly-room, because they want the best potato or the largest piece of meat. Some who have been in the almshouse for years still do this, although they know that everybody fares precisely the same. They have lost faith in everybody, and have a chronically distrustful attitude. The women, like the men, are always "on the make," even in the petty affairs of almshouse life. They hide new, clean calico dresses under mattresses or in boxes, wearing their ragged clothing, in order

\* Tenth Annual Report, New York State Board of Charities, p. 107.

† American Charities, p. 148.



to make a poor face to the matron and so obtain more ; or, with the working woman's thrift, they go slovenly every day in order to dress up on Sunday or when they go into the city. Lying is always their means of getting out of, as well as getting into, difficulty.

They are quite sure that the world has been unduly hard on them, and that, but for some one's fault, or "bad luck," they need never have been in the almshouse. Yet their own stories are usually their worst condemnation. Want of skill, or industry, or thrift, or judgment, bring their inevitable results, to which bad habits, sickness, old age, or lack of support add an irresistible force which lands them in the almshouse. The cleanly, honest, deserving, and unfortunate, because they are so few, stand out in sharp distinction to the mass of degenerate and unworthy.

#### IV. SUGGESTIONS.

Differentiation is the most striking characteristic of modern charitable effort. Although in all almshouse literature, and by every intelligent charity worker, it is constantly urged as the first step necessary to a just and wise treatment of the poor, it is evident that there is still occasion for reiteration. The San Francisco almshouse, though far better managed than most such institutions by virtue of the intelligence and devotion of Mr. and Mrs. Weaver, exhibits many of the most glaring evils which arise from want of classification. This almshouse is the catch-all, the dumping ground, the rag-bag of society. Here are, *first*, the insane, who through neglect have become a permanent charge on the community, and who should unquestionably be provided for in an asylum for the chronic insane. All the insane asylums of California are overcrowded. So long as no thorough classification between chronic and acute cases is made in these institutions, it is not surprising that no adequate provision has been made for the insane in almshouses.

*Second*, Inebriates: That inebriety is a result of diseased conditions, if not a form of disease, is now fully recognized;

but the almshouse affords neither opportunity for treatment which might lead to cure, nor for the restraint essential in incurable cases. The drunkard should no more be tolerated at large in society than the maniac or the thief. When human beings, whether pauper, drunkard, or insane criminal, get beyond self-support or self-control, the fact that it may have been through misfortune, rather than misdeed, should not prevent thoroughly protective and preventive treatment, however unpleasant.

*Third, Epileptics:* These are now divided between the almshouse and the institution for the feeble-minded at Eldridge, California. For the present all should be placed in the separate building at the latter institution; but already Dr. Osborne looks for an increase which will make a separate institution necessary. In Ohio and New York such differentiation has already been accomplished.

*Fourth.* The sick and diseased, who may be divided into various classes. At present incurables and convalescents are sent from the city and county hospital to the almshouse, but under present conditions no adequate provision for hospital care is made for them. The Board of Health does not recognize the necessity for a greater expenditure of money to provide nurses, better food, and better hospital accommodations. There should be special wards for convalescents in connection with the city hospital. The period of convalescence is often the opportunity for converting a self-respecting poor person into a pauper. Want of money, want of vigor, and consequent discouragement, and the transfer to an almshouse, which is regarded as a disgrace, may easily destroy the last remnant of courage. Mr. Booth says: "At bottom, the great difficulty in treating sickness and cases of serious accident among the poor arises from the fact that we are one flesh, and that illness is not a luxury. . . . If the poor are not to die they must be returned to life, ready for work." \*

\* *Fauperism: A Picture*, p. 47.

/ Incurables could be properly cared for at the almshouse. Although a beginning has been made in this direction in the erection of a small hospital building for women, much more needs to be done in providing especially for consumptive and syphilitic cases. There are a considerable number of consumptives among the almshouse men, who not only suffer for want of careful attention, but who are a serious danger to the health of other inmates and employes. Syphilitic patients, of whom there are a considerable number, should be completely isolated from other inmates, and, if incurable, finally committed to a special workhouse.

Finally, the vicious and unworthy should be compelled to even more severe labor than at present.

By the exertions of the matron, all children and defectives have been removed from the institution and placed in suitable homes or institutions, thus entirely preventing one of the abuses most commonly observed in almshouses in this country.

It is apparent that thorough classification would require either a larger plant or more institutions, and it is also clear that none of these suggestions can be put into operation without some form of admission and discharge other than now prevails. Not only is it essential that the history of all applicants for admission be carefully investigated by a charity expert, but even more so, that there be a legal commitment, and that discharge only be possible by the formal dismissal of a board or committee, of whom the superintendent and matron shall be *ex officio* members. Such commitments should be published regularly in the newspapers.

/ In short, it is believed to be absolutely necessary that both getting into and getting out of the almshouse be made difficult.

On page 222 conditions have been described which suggest that the first requisite for good almshouse management is removal from the sphere of partisan politics. No satisfactory solution of these problems can ever be made by persons de-

voted to the spoils of office and untrained in philanthropic work. A non-partisan Board of Health, a salaried expert to investigate applicants, and the transfer of the appointing power from the board to the superintendent, who carries the financial responsibility, are believed to be absolutely essential to the satisfactory administration of the almshouse. That convicts are disfranchised while paupers vote is one ✓ of the anomalies of our legislation only to be remedied by the application of common sense.

Public institutions have a secondary and by no means unimportant usefulness in providing opportunities for sociological study. In order that the almshouse may afford accurate data, more comprehensive records should be kept ✓ relating to the history and character of the inmates. At present only the obvious and least important questions are answered by the books of the institution. The publication of periodical reports on points such as have been embodied in this paper would be of the greatest public interest and value.

The position of almshouse physician offers an unusual ✓ opportunity for the study of the diseases of old age. The appointment of an interne, with supervision by a visiting physician of good reputation, would probably afford better service to the almshouse than the present plan.

That the almshouse is at present unrelated to every other charitable movement, and at the mercy of partisan politics, suggests the need of a general organization and supervision of all the charities of California. The objects, methods, and machinery of charity organization societies have been thoroughly discussed by Professor Amos G. Warner.\* If, besides a wisely administered society of this kind, an unsalaried supervisory board, having powers of investigation and report only, could be secured, the whole scope of charitable effort in California would be modified, enlarged, and unified. At present, while the amount of money spent in California for

\* *American Charities*, chaps. XVIII and XIX.

benevolence is out of all proportion to the number of inhabitants, the waste in extravagant out-door and in-door relief, overlapping, unsystematic, and incoherent charity, is producing dependents at a rate beyond the ability of charitable workers to provide for them.

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TABLE XVII,—Being Material in Full up

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conj. Condition.	Number of Children			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	Organ (Includ
					Liv'g	Dead.	Total.						
1	47	England.	Respectable laboring people.	W.	..	..	5	Domestic	Reads and writes.	1856	Sev.	1894	Insane
2	48	Norway..	Peasant.....	W. (2)	2	5	7	Domestic	None.....	....	2	1892	Partia feeb
3	63	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W. (?)	4	2	6	Domestic	None.....	1860	Sev.	1893	Epilep mild
4	63	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	Several	Domestic	None.....	1856	1	1893	Rheum ally
5	49	Ireland..	.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	1	1876	Insane
6	65	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	Several	Domestic	None.....	1856	1	1891	.....
7	79	Ireland..	Peasant farmer.	W.	1	3	4	Domestic	None.....	1858	1	1892	Slight ed.
8	56	Ireland..	.....	W.	2	..	..	Seamstress.	Common school.	....	1	1889	Rheum
9	71	Ireland..	.....	W.	1	4	5	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1884	Blind
10	67	Ireland..	.....	M.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	1864	1	1892	Menta age.
11	71	Ireland..	Peasant farmer.	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1884	Deaf ;
12	37	Utah....	Peasant t.....	S.	..	1 M.	Several	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1892	Feeble teric oped
13	86	Canada..	French peasant.	W.	3	..	3	Domestic	R. and w.	....	1	1893	Feeble
14	72	Italy....	Peasant.....	W.	1	?	1	Domestic	None.....	1892	1	1893	Insane
15	45	Penn....	.....	W. (?)	..	1	1	Singer in a dive.	Com. sch..	....	Sev.	1893	Alcoh and ble-
16	67	St. Helena	English.....	W. (2)	1	..	..	Domestic	Com. sch..	1849	1	1892	Paraly ing
17	69	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	?	Domestic	Com. sch..	1860	1	1893	Rheum
18	84	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	3	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	5	1881	Insane
19	57	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	2	3	Domestic	None.....	....	Sev.	1893	None.
20	69	Germany	Peasant.....	W.	1	..	..	Domestic	None.....	1882	1	1894	Insane

ic Condition ing Disease or Defect).	Habits.	Causes of Pauperism.	Story.
is.....	Immoral.....	Immorality, 10...	Had "a bad husband."
atism; con- tion.	Good.....	Neglect by rela., 5; sickness, 5.	One son who went to World's Fair and has never been heard from since; is now dead.
sis; syphilis; .	Filthy, prostitute	Immorality, 7; neglect by rela- tives, 3.	Wife in Civil War, camp-follower; says she saved Grant's life and he gave her a watch; married twice, once to a gambler, second time to an embezzler; one daughter an actress, good-looking and disreputable woman, who puts mother in almshouse when she goes away on tour.
.....	.....	Temper, 7; neg- lect by rela., 3	One daughter in Waltham, Mass., who is well off, but grandmother could not get on with grandchildren, so she came to son in San Francisco. He is a car driver, promises to do something for her, but does not.
atism; neu- a.	Good.....	Sickness, 5; no support, 5.	Neat, industrious; daughter died who was her only support; spent \$4.50 which a friend gave her for masses for the daughter.
sis.....	Good.....	Sickness, 10.....	Husband an Englishman, a "good, temperate man"; five children died in infancy of "water on brain," two are living "somewhere"; one son, twenty-six years old, a laborer, could not support her, was recently drowned.
ism; vertigo.	Good.....	Sick., 5; old age, 5	Good cook and nurse; always asks for work.
atism.....	Good.....	Temp., 8; sick., 2	Twenty-one children, twins once, triplets once; two sons glass-blowers, one in Pittsburg, who has a large family; daughter in California paid her fare out here, but she quarrelled with grandchildren and ran away to almshouse; daughter came recently and coaxed her to go back.
formerly, now e-minded.	Good.....	No support, 5; insanity, 5.	Was one of thirteen children, a New England factory girl earning high wages; married a baker who de- serted her for another woman, which probably caused her insanity; neat, kindly, industrious; has two brothers, one of whom has an insane wife and sick child.
-minded.....	.....	Temper, 8; old age, 2.	Very fat; eats, sleeps, and scolds.
-minded.....	Intemperate.....	Inefficiency, 7; old age, 3.	Speaks gently; is now growing childish.
poisoning.....	Good.....	Sickness, 7; old age, 3.	Got her foot crushed and died in almshouse of blood- poisoning; one son living whom she had lost sight of.
ce.....	Good.....	No support, 5; sickness, 5.	Intelligent, but never strong; child died in infancy; husband died and she was not strong enough to sup- port herself.
.....	.....	Insanity, 10.....	Was found wandering in the park; has an ugly temper.
emory.....	.....	Mental deficien- cy, 10.	Robust health; husband died several years ago; two children in Ladies Protection and Relief; entirely irresponsible; hid eleven tin cups.
matory rheu- sm.	Good.....	Old age, 5; in- efficiency, 5.	Kind, willing, witty; does not know where her chil- dren are.
.....	Intemperate.....	Intemperance, 7; no support, 3.	Formerly a carpet sewer in Denver, Col., where she laid up money; twice married; will not speak of her first husband; second husband married her for her money and deserted her; excellent worker; kind temper.
.....	Intemp. prosti- tute.	Immorality, 10..	Came to California with a rich aunt. A beauty, belong- ing to good family, betrayed by the man she loved.
zed; infirm...	Intemperate.....	Inefficiency, 5; neglect by rela- tives, 5.	Married twice; first husband in Ireland, second in United States; one daughter living in Ireland; one daughter married, living in San Francisco; two sons "somewhere."
.....	Intemperate.....	Inefficiency, 5; intemp., 5.	Quiet, well-disposed, absolutely inefficient; one child died in infancy.

TABLE XVII.—

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conf. Condition.	Number of Children			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	Org. (Inclu)
					Liv'g	Dead.	Total.						
41	74	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	1	2	Domestic	None.....	1871	1	1891	Ment
42	36	N. Y....	.....	Deser.	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads and writes.	....	2	1893	Age Ecce rep
43	53	Ireland..	.....	W.	3	..	..	Domestic	Good.....	....	3	1893	Syph
44	81	U. S....	Lowest class Negro.	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1894	Deaf
45	49	Ireland..	Irish farmer of good class	W.	..	1	..	Seam's...	Reads.....	....	1	1894	None
46	72	Ireland..	.....	W.	2	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	1853	3	1890	None
47	20	Cal.....	Very low American.	Deser.	..	1	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	2	1893	Sexu
48	67	N. Y....	Respectable American.	W.	2	..	2	Seam's...	R. and w.	1853	2	1894	Slight
49	47	Ireland..	.....	M.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1869	Insur
50	62	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1893	.....
51	63	Ireland..	.....	W.	3	1	4	Domestic and midwife.	Reads.....	1865	1	1893	None
52	75	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	..	..	Dom. and nurse.	Reads.....	1859	6	1893	None
53	60	La.....	Respectable American.	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	....	2	1887	Para
54	55	Mass.....	.....	W.	4	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	1	1890	Insur
55	66	England.	Above laboring class.	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	1	1884	Paral po
56	84	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	1858	1	1890	Para
57	62	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	2	3	Domestic	R. and w.	....	1	1890	None
58	62	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	1	1885	Pleur
59	60	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Laund's	.....	....	1	1893	Para
60	67	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	2	6	Dressmk.	None.....	1886	1	1888	Men me



10. Summary

Age	Color	Height	Weight	Complexion	Build	Character	History
40	White	5 ft 6 in	140 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Good cook, capable; has twice been out at service but drunk so that she had to come back to almshouse; cannot remember about her children, except that a cousin buried one in good shape."
35	White	5 ft 4 in	120 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Quiet, colorless character. Three married children and two younger ones; husband went off with Commonwealth army; daughter brought her to almshouse because she "can't do nothing with her when she drinks."
30	White	5 ft 2 in	110 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Mother of Indian man who died of syphilis in hospital; one son in an asylum for boys.
25	White	5 ft 1 in	100 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Excellent worker; intelligent; mother died in almshouse, father in hospital of Indian women; has one son living well who consents that she has disgraced him.
20	White	4 ft 11 in	90 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Disgraced engineer, dissipated man, who did not stop at her house on a drinking ship; need nothing to do but drink.
15	White	4 ft 10 in	85 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
10	White	4 ft 9 in	80 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
5	White	4 ft 8 in	75 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
0	White	4 ft 7 in	70 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
45	White	5 ft 7 in	150 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
40	White	5 ft 6 in	140 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
35	White	5 ft 5 in	130 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
30	White	5 ft 4 in	120 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
25	White	5 ft 3 in	110 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
20	White	5 ft 2 in	100 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
15	White	5 ft 1 in	90 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
10	White	5 ft 0 in	80 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
5	White	4 ft 11 in	75 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.
0	White	4 ft 10 in	70 lb	Fair	Medium	Intemperate	Her mother and wife took her to almshouse that being the only place to go.

TABLE XVII.—

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conj. Condition.	Number of Children.			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	Organ (Inclu
					Liv'g	Dead.	Total.						
77	66	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	1	2	Domestic	None.....	....	Sev.	1894	Insan
78	41	Ireland..	Peasant.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1894	Wrec
79	58	Switzer- land.	.....	M. (2)	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads and writes.	....	1	1893	Wrec
80	70	Ireland..	Peasant.. ...	W.	..	..	..	Dom. and nurse.	None.....	1870	9	1888	Rhet
81	57	Ireland..	Peasant.....	Deser.	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	16	1894	Insa
82	69	Ireland..	Well-to-do Irish farm- er.	W.	..	..	..	Dom. and nurse.	R. and w.	1867	Sev.	1893	None
83	51	Ireland..	.....	W.(2)	3	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	15	1893	Wrec
84	81	Ireland..	Farmer.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	1879	Sev.	1889	Insa
85	40	Ireland..	Peasant.....	M.	4	..	4	Domestic	None.....	....	2	1891	Sigl
86	72	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	4	1884	Sigl de
87	70	Ireland..	.....	W.(2)	..	1 M.	..	Domestic	.....	1868	2	1893	None
88	56	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	2	..	Domestic	None.....	....	2	1890	Feet
89	62	Germany	Peasant.....	W.	..	2	2	Domestic	R. and w.	....	1	1894	Canc

CONTINUED.

ic Condition ng Disease or defect).	Habits.	Causes of Pauperism.	Story.
ng of brain...	Intemp.; profane	Intemp., 7; neg- lect by rela., 3.	Married a widower who died and left her a home; step- sons cast her off because she drank.
hic cramps; legs broken.	Intemperate.....	Intemperance, 10	Husband an engineer who took up land in Australia, died in C. and C. Hospital; one son, an engineer in city, who drinks, tried to take care of mother but could not because she drank incorrigibly; has been helped by the "Catholic Sisters," and in city hospital.
atism.....	Good.....	Sickness, 10.....	Very neat and docile.
.....	Good.....	Old age, 10.....	She and her husband kept a French laundry, "lived happily for fifty years," saved very little, came to almshouse together where he died of Bright's disease. One daughter, who might have supported them, died recently. Industrious, well-disposed people.
.....	Intemperate.....	Intemperance, 10	First husband left her \$60,000; second husband squan- dered it all and taught her to drink; she is an excel- lent housemaid.
(mild) .....	Profane.....	Insanity, 10.....	Excellent worker; well behaved until something crosses her.
ly below aver-	Intemp.; filthy..	Ineffic., 5; mental deficiency, 5.	Gluttonous, almost feeble-minded.
atory rheu- m and paraly-	Good.....	Sickness, 7; neg- lect by rela- tives, 3.	One brother a violinist in orchestra in city; receives three dollars per month from some German society; good worker.
y.....	Good.....	Sickness, 10.....	Four children in orphanages.
atism; paraly-	Intemp.; pro- fane; violent temper.	Intemperance, 7; no support, 3.	One son who supported her died; another son, a drink- ing man, in the mines; three daughters "died in one month of grippe"; belligerent, venomous tongue.
h.....	Intemp. prosti- tute.	Immorality, 5; old age, 5.	Very quick-witted and cunning; she and her son sup- ported themselves by begging; son epileptic, now in almshouse; she frequently runs away, begs, gets drunk, is picked up by police and returned to alma- house; buys gin and smuggles it in to her son.
is and weak- ed, result of old fever.	Takes snuff.....	Sickness, 5; neg- lect by rela., 5.	Father and mother, brothers and sisters farmers in Nova Scotia in good circumstances; one daughter elegantly dressed came to see her, evidently leading a disreputable life; she says she has three sons "well off" in Prince Edward Island; never tells same story twice. Can only be sure of daughter. Beautiful seamstress; has certificate to teach in California schools but is not industrious.
is; softening brain.	Intemperate.....	Sickness, 5; in- temperance, 5.	Rarely speaks; has been very handsome.
mind; epi-	Excessive sexual- ity; probably prostitute.	Mental defic., 10.	Mother left \$4000, which was given over to elder daugh- ter with whom this girl lived; sister's husband as- saulted her, she ran away and was found on street at midnight by police; matron will shortly send her to an institution for feeble-minded.
.....	Intem. prostitute	No support, 5; immorality, 5.	Husband recently killed; four children died of diph- theria and measles; untruthful, vulgar.
atism.....	Good.....	Inefficiency, 10..	One brother killed at battle of Antietam; fat, intelli- gent; has to be bathed.
gs.....	Good.....	Old age, 10.....	Worn-out scrub woman.
st.....	Good.....	Sickness, 5; old age, 5.	Very industrious; has recently gone to live with a nephew who is poor.
.....	Intemperate.....	Intemperance (periodic), 10.	Excellent laundress, very industrious; goes to work for small wages or whiskey; comes back to alma- house after every debauch; does not know where her children are.
mind.....	.....	Inefficiency, 5; neglect by rela- tives, 5.	Always expecting a fortune; brother in Oakland to whom she goes; he sends her back to this or the Alameda almshouse; very lazy.

TABLE XVII.-

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conj. Condition.	Number of Children.			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	Org (Incl)
					Liv'g	Dead.	Total.						
110	56	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1885	Feel
111	36	Mass....	.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	2	1893	Feel
112	82	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	..	1	Domestic	R. and w.	....	4	1884	Can
113	53	Nova Scotia.	.....	W. (?)	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	....	1	1889	Sypl
114	66	Switzerland.	Peasant.....	W.	..	4 M.	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	1	1880	.....
115	60	Ireland..	.....	W.	1	..	..	Domestic	None .....	....	1	1887	Insa
116	71	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	1	1 M.	2	Domestic	Reads.....	1869	1	1894	Non
117	64	N. Y....	Respectable American.	W.	..	1 (?)	..	Actress in comedy.	Com. sch...	1860	1	1890	Hys
118	62	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	1	1	Domestic	Reads.....	1869	1	1894	Bro
119	57	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	2	1888	Hea
120	62	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1892	Insa
121	49	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W. (?)	..	Sev.	..	Shoe-fitter.	Reads.....	....	1	1889	Insa
122	62	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	1862	1	1893	Par
123	70	Scotland.	.....	W.	1	6	..	Seam's & "cowboy"	Reads.....	1863	1	1893	Com
124	71	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	2	5	7	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1894	Dea
125	67	Sweden..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Seam's...	R. and w.	....	6	1878	Spir
126	30	Cal....	.....	S.	..	..	..	None....	None.....	....	1	1882	Dea bl
127	73	Ireland..	Farmer.....	W.	..	5	5	Domestic	Reads.....	....	1	1892	.....
128	66	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	2	..	2	Domestic	None.....	1861	2	1893	Ver be
129	46	Ireland..	Lowest emigrant.	W.	..	..	1	Laund's.	None.....	....	1	1894	Sypl m
130	71	England.	Peasant.....	W.	..	2	2	Domestic	R. and w.	1866	3	1892	Wre

— CONTINUED.

Case	Existing Disease or Defect.	Habits.	Cause of Pauperism.	Story.
18	offspring	Intemperate	Sickness, 5; neglect by rela. 5.	Came from drinking family; brothers in city drinkers; dead.
19	paralysis		No support, 5; feeble-minded, 5.	Both parents drunkards in city; father kicked before child was born; they decline to support; taken to institution for feeble-minded; has been in children's hospital.
20	broken leg	Good	Accident, 5; neglect by relatives, 5.	One of four sisters who came together from all in this state; one died recently; — no kin in her family; — one son living — somewhere.
21	paralysis	Intemperate	Intemperance, 7; temper, 3.	Called the "Irish songstress"; dead.
22	paralysis resulting from operation for piles		Sickness, 7; no support, 3.	Separated from husband because they "agree"; blunder in operation at hospital.
23	paralysis; senile anacholy.	Intemperate	Intemperance, 7; old age, 3.	One son a laborer; one daughter who takes frequently; always comes back drunk.
24	paralysis; senile anacholy.	Periodically intemperate.	Intemperance, 10.	Neat, genteel, good-looking, rather intelligent son, a painter, who has been in almshouse; son had inflammatory rheumatism and died home.
25	deaf; growing child	Good	Defect, 7; old age, 3.	Well disposed, rather frail; requires care like child.
26	paralysis	Good	Inanity, 10.	Not violent enough to be received at an asylum vacantly; cuts up clothing; very clean, good.
27	paralysis	Intemperate (periodically).	Accident, 5; intemperance, 5.	Good-looking, excellent worker; expects fortune from husband; broke ankle in drunken debauch.
28	feeble-minded	Good	Old age, 5; no support, 5.	Three children died in childhood; one married in city with whose husband she cannot a case of mother-in-law, difficult to say where lies.
29	rheumatism; excessive flesh.	Intemperate	Sickness, 7; intemperance, 3.	One of seven children of an Irish farmer; four died in infancy; the fifth, aged five years in hospital of broken leg.
30	cataract of one eye.	Intemperate	Sickness, 5; temper, 3; old age, 2.	Husband a builder, who died twenty years ago; has kept a lodging house, afterward a beggar aggressive temper.
31	rheumatism	Good	Sickness, 10.	She was one of six children of an Irish farmer, whom came to America; came to almshouse hospital incurable; has one child in orphanage.
32	accident; insanity	Intemperate	Inanity, 5; accident, 5.	Was one of eleven children; has a daughter, but not know where she is; is mildly insane and severe injury from falling on a chair; died from Roman Catholic hospital because she could not pay.
33	old age	Good	Old age, 10.	Has four brothers and sisters in Ireland.
34	paralysis	Intemperate	Sickness, 5; old age, 5.	Now speechless, cries all the time.
35	rheumatism	Snuff taker	Sickness, 7; temper, 3.	A fault-finder; has one sister in city with several children.
36	Bright's disease	Good	Sickness, 5; neglect by rela., 5.	Married an Irishman in Canada who abused her; married son in city who drinks and "has a bad temper";
37	broken hip; very heavy.	Good	Accident, 10.	Husband died ten years ago; three children; learning a trade; two younger with an aunt in land; bannister of outside stairway gave way; she fell fifteen feet, breaking hip. Incurable fat; earned good wages in canneries and at work.
38	Dipsomania	Drinks, lies, steals.	Intemperance, 10.	Has been waitress in a dive; capable, efficient; been in house of correction several times; probably prostitute; no moral sense whatever; discarded at her own request.
39	None	Good	No support, 5; inefficiency, 5.	Deserted by husband; exceedingly timid, lacks initiative; does very well when directed. Feminine pence has become pauper instinct.

TABLE XVIII

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conj. Condition.	Number of Children.			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	C.
					Liv'g	Dead	Total.						
167	56	Ireland..	.....	W.	2	11	13	Tailorress	Reads.....	....	1	1889	
168	61	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1890	
169	52	Ireland..	Peasant.....	M.	1	3	4	Domestic	R. and w.	....	2	1882	
170	72	Germany	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	1889	1	1891	
171	58	India ..	.....	W. (2)	3	8	11	Domestic	R. and w.	....	1	1893	
172	39	Mass.....	Irish.....	W.	..	1	..	Domestic	R. and w.	....	Sev.	1893	
173	75	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	3	3	Domestic	None.....	1886	Sev.	1888	
174	45	Ark.....	.....	M. (2) Deser.	1	1	?	Domestic	Reads.....	....	3	1892	
175	60	Ireland..	Peasant.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	....	1	1894	
176	44	Ireland..	Peasant.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1890	
177	66	England.	Peasant Laboring class.	W.	5	3	8	Domestic	R. and w.	1852	1	1894	
178	77	England.	Laboring class.	M.	..	3 M.	..	Domestic	R. and w.	1870	1	1894	
179	40	N. Y....	.....	Deser.	..	1 M.	..	Domestic	.....	....	1	1894	
180	75	Mass.....	.....	W.	2	2	4	Domestic	.....	1877	1	1892	
181	81	Virginia.	"Fine fam- ily."	W.	..	..	..	Fortune teller; specula.	R. and w.	1875	1	1894	
182	69	England.	.....	W.	3	5	8	Dressmk.	R. and w.	1853	1	1893	
183	61	Ireland..	Peasant....	Deser.	9	1	10	Domestic	None.....	1864	3	1894	
184	46	Germany	Peasant.....	M 2. Divorc. Deser.	..	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	....	2	1894	

CONTINUED.

Physical Condition (Disease or Defect).	Habits.	Causes of Pauperism.	Story.
Idiopathic paralysis..	Intemperate.....	Intemp., 7; neglect by rela., 3.	One daughter living in city with a cousin; one son "somewhere"; one niece in city.
Physically below average.....	Intemperate.....	Inefficiency, 5; old age, 5.	One brother in Ireland who is a priest.
.....	Intemperate.....	No support, 5; intemp., 5.	Husband, much older than herself, scrofulous and intemperate, in almshouse; one child died in infancy, one at nine years feeble-minded, one at fifteen years epileptic; one daughter living, feeble-minded, now with sisters, who has been ruined. She "did not love her children much because they were so sickly."
.....	Good.....	Sickness, 5; old age, 5.	Honest, industrious, well-behaved.
.....	Intemperate.....	Old age, 5; intemperance, 5.	First husband drank and they parted; three daughters living "somewhere"; speaks Spanish; has lived in Mexico.
Idiopathic; consumption.....	Intemperate.....	Intemperance, 7; sickness, 3.	Her mother, herself, and baby all came into almshouse under influence of liquor; father a soldier who died of delirium tremens; one brother in men's department with consumption; has been with sisters; is now in an insane asylum.
Feeble-minded.....	.....	Mental defic., 5; old age, 5.	Had three sons, all dead.
Idiopathic.....	Smokes.....	Defect, 5; no support, 5.	Brought a baby to almshouse who died; one son, twenty years old, living in Kansas who occasionally writes her; married twice; deserted by second husband; a fair worker; kindly, superstitious.
Idiopathic.....	Good.....	Neglect by relatives, 10.	She had a little property which she gave to her sister for a home; sister became paralyzed; niece would not keep her, but brought her to almshouse; another niece, wife of a saloon-keeper, greatly chagrined and took her away; difficult temper.
Idiopathic paralysis.....	Intemperate.....	Intemperance, 10.	Robust, industrious, good worker; ruined by drink.
Idiopathic.....	Intemperate.....	Sickness, 5; neglect by rela., 5; intemp., 2.	Husband was a sailor; has one sister in city who repudiates her; two children in England; one son a sailor, one a teamster; one daughter, a widow with two children, in United States; probably makes a convenience of almshouse.
.....	Good.....	No support, 7; old age, 3.	Husband in almshouse also; he was an optician, saved money, speculated, and lost it; then he had rheumatism: she tried to support him but could not do it; she says one aunt had nineteen children, one sister thirteen, and that "all her people have large families." She herself had "several miscarriages."
Knee.....	Intemperate; snuff taker.	Accident, 5; intemperance, 5.	Came from city hospital. Is probably a prostitute.
.....	.....	Old age, 5; shiftlessness, 5.	Has two children living in New Bedford, Mass. of whom she knows nothing; lazy and vain.
Idiopathic.....	Very dirty.....	Speculation, 7; old age, 3.	Says she belongs to a "fine family" in Virginia; has no moral sense; is "mad" because she "is old and cannot speculate"; came from city hospital.
Idiopathic.....	Good.....	Old age, 5; stinginess, 5.	Brought \$700, three watches, rings, and chains with her; is well-behaved, quiet; has concluded this is cheapest place to spend her latter years. Five children died in infancy of some contagious disease; has three living "somewhere."
Physically below average.....	Intemperate.....	No support, 5; mental defic., 5.	Four children with the Sisters; five "somewhere"; husband a dissipated Italian who deserted her; came from city hospital.
Idiopathic from drink.....	Intemperate; immoral; criminal.	Immorality, 5; crime, 3; intemp., 2.	Once divorced, second time deserted; committed theft in order to go to House of Correction; has been very handsome.

TABLE XVII.-

No.	Age	Place of Birth.	Ancestry.	Conj. Condition.	Number of Children.			Occupation.	Education.	Came to California.	Times Adm.	When Last Adm.	Org (Incl)
					Living	Dead.	Total.						
185	62	Ireland..	Peasant.....	Deser.	..	..	Sev.	Domestic	R. and w.	....	2	1894	.....
186	64	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	4	5	9	Domestic	Reads.....	1867	3	1893	Feet
187	45	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	3	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	....	2	1891	Scat
188	57	Ireland..	Peasant.....	Deser.	2	..	..	Seam's...	R. and w.	....	1	1893	Parasitic
189	78	Ireland..	.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	.....	1855	1	1893	Old
190	61	Ireland..	Better class peasant.	W.	5	..	5	Domestic	R. and w.	1865	1	1894	Very
191	52	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	2	..	2	Domestic	.....	....	1	1892	Dise
192	30	Illinois..	.....	W.	..	1	1	Domestic	Com. sch...	....	1	1892	Mild
193	81	Germany	Peasant.....	W.	2	..	2	Domestic	None.....	1875	1	1894	Mild
194	47	England..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	Com. sch...	....	3	1893	Non
195	48	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	1	1888	Rheumatism
196	64	Ireland..	.....	W.	..	3 M.	3	Domestic	R. and w.	1861	1	1892	Feet
197	62	Ireland..	Peasant.....	Deser.	5	11	16	Domestic	Reads.....	1858	1	1893	Parasitic
198	68	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	2	5	7	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1877	Blind
199	40	Penn.....	"Good family."	W.	..	..	..	Dressmk.	Com. sch...	....	1	1894	Syp
200	77	England..	"Fine family."	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	R. and w.	1857	2	1891	Parasitic
201	64	England..	.....	M.	..	..	..	Peddler..	.....	....	1	1893	.....
202	76	Ireland..	Peasant.....	W.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	1852	1	1891	Non
203	74	England..	.....	W.	..	..	Sev.	Domestic	R. and w.	....	6	1883	Non
204	37	Ireland..	.....	W.	1	..	..	Domestic	Reads.....	....	2	1889	Feet
205	48	Ireland..	Peasant.....	S.	..	..	..	Domestic	None.....	....	1	1891	.....



**Habits.** Causes of Pauperism.

Intemperate ..... Accident, 5; in-temperance, 5. Fell from top of a stair (drunk?); husband a drunken man who spent all his earnings; was one of seven children, five of whom emigrated to America, and three of whom are now in good circumstances in the East. Dead.

Intemperate ..... Intemperance, 10. A son and his wife, well dressed, visit her; he was overheard to say that if "she would behave herself they would be glad to have her come home."

Intemperate; immoral. Immorality, 5; neglect by relatives, 3; intemperance, 2. One sister; two brothers in city in good circumstances; had a right to keep her in almshouse; discharged to go to an insane asylum but returned.

alcohol Good and de- Sickness, 5; neglect by relatives, 3; insanity, 2. Was one of nine children, some of whom emigrated to America; one brother in city comfortably off; one sister with seven children with whom she does her self Queen of Ireland.

analysis Intemperate; immoral. Immorality, 5; intemperance, 3. Husband abandoned another wife and four children to live with her; lived riotously; one child died in infancy.

of brain; Snuff taker and No sup- port, 5; sick-ness, 3; inefficiency, 2. Was deserted by husband; has one sister in Oakland who repudiates her; cries incessantly.

disease Good Old age, 10. Came from city and county hospital.

Good No support, 10. Husband sent her to California, told her to go to hospital for confinement; hospital refused her; came to almshouse; almshouse sent her to lying-in asylum; husband will come for her when confinement is over.

Intemperate. No support, 5; Old age, 5. Daughter in jail for killing her husband.

Good Well-behaved, strong, industrious, neat; wants "big wages."

Intemperate. No support, 5; Old age, 5. One married sister in city is dead; no grandchildren; no relatives in United States; had saved \$200; graduated used it all up, then came to almshouse.

Good Very wretched; daughters well off, have quarrelled about responsibility of taking care of her; child difficulty seems to be her temper.

Good Neglect by relatives, 5; disease, 5; intemperance, 5. Sore on foot syphilis; has one daughter in city who ignores her.

Good Sick, 5; neglect by relatives, 5; mental deterioration, 5; no support, 5. Parents drinking people, who abandoned her; her husband is mad.

Intemperate. Sick, 5; disease, 5; intemperance, 5; no support, 5. Became feeble-minded and has since died.

Good One son living "somewhere"; has to be washed like a baby.

Good One child still-born; keeps "George Washington" under the bed"; room in Thomas Jefferson under the bed"; sister a pretty decent; mind falling rapidly.

Good Father a bricklayer, brother a painter, sister a nurse in England; husband died; husband's sister wrote her to come to almshouse; she supported herself and children until she supported herself and husband's sister.

Good Relatives wealthy; brother put down as "a directory"; was seduced in her youth; said to have made her insane; has been in asylum; relatives do not want to hear of her.

Good Father a Scotch Presbyterian; mother a Scotch Presbyterian; mother seven years in House of Correction and sent child to almshouse with her. Father a poor drunk well at service.

Good Mother was a contractor; husband a joiner; one son grew up

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## **II.—CONCLUDED.**

Organic Condition (Including Disease or Defect).	Habits.	Causes of Pauperism.	Story.
Paralysis .....	Intemperate .....	Accident, 5; in- temperance, 5.	Fell from top of a stair (drunk ?); husband a drinking man who spent all his earnings; was one of seven children, five of whom emigrated to America, and three of whom are now in good circumstances in the East. Dead.
Slight paralysis; weak eyes.	Intemperate .....	Intemperance, 10.	A son and his wife, well dressed, visit her; he was over- heard to say that if "she would behave herself they would be glad to have her come home."
Syphilis; insanity...	Intemperate; im- moral.	Immorality, 5; neglect by rela- tives, 3; intem- perance, 2.	One sister; two brothers in city in good circumstances who sent word to matron that they "paid taxes and had a right to keep her in almshouse"; discharged to go to an insane asylum but returned.
Rheumatism; abscess on head; insane de- lusions.	Good .....	Sickness, 5; neg- lect by rela., 3; insanity, 2.	Was one of nine children, some of whom emigrated to America; one brother in city comfortably off; one sister with seven children with whom she does not like to live because there is "no room"; thinks her- self Queen of Ireland.
Alcoholic paralysis.	Intemperate; im- moral.	Immorality, 5; intemp., 5.	Husband abandoned another wife and four children to live with her; lived riotously; one child died in infancy.
Softening of brain; kidney disease.	Snuff taker and smoker.	No sup., 5; sick., 3; ineffic., 2.	Was deserted by husband; has one sister in Oakland who repudiates her; cries incessantly.
Old age .....	Good .....	Old age, 10.....	Came from city and county hospital.
.....	Good .....	No support, 10...	Husband sent her to California, told her to go to hos- pital for confinement; hospital refused her; came to almshouse; almshouse sent her to lying-in asylum; husband will come for her when confinement is over.
Old age .....	Intemperate .....	No support, 5; old age, 5.	Daughter in jail for killing her husband.
Mentally below aver- age.	Good .....	Mental defic., 10.	Well-behaved, strong, industrious, neat; wants "big wages."
Worn out; bad cough	Good .....	Old age, 10.....	One married sister in city is dead; no grandchildren; no relatives in United States; had saved \$200; grad- ually used it all up, then came to almshouse.
Blind .....	Good .....	Neglect by rela., 7; disease, 1; temper, 2.	Very crochety; daughters, well off, have quarrelled about responsibility of taking care of her; chief difficulty seems to be her temper.
Diseased foot .....	Intemperate .....	Sickness, 5; neg- lect by rela., 5.	Sore on foot syphilitic; has one daughter in city who ignores her.
Feeble-minded; hip disease.	.....	Mental defic., 5; no support, 5.	Parents drinking people, who abandoned her; her passion is music.
Epilepsy .....	.....	Sickness, 5; old age, 5.	Became feeble-minded and has since died.
Paralysis; insanity..	.....	Insanity, 5; no support, 5.	Husband, in an asylum in Pennsylvania, wrote to her to come there. Dead.
.....	Intemperate; smokes.	Intemperance, 7; old age, 3.	One son and one daughter who could not live with her, who hired a room and supported her, but she pawned furniture for liquor; has been in jail repeatedly for drunkenness; son drinks but is respectable laboring man.
Insane .....	.....	Insanity, 5; old age, 5.	One son living "somewhere"; has to be washed and dressed like a baby.
Insane .....	Immoral .....	Insanity, 10.....	One child still-born; keeps "George Washington and Thomas Jefferson under the bed"; room neat and prettily decorated; mind failing rapidly.
Paralysis; Bright's disease.	Good .....	Sickness, 10.....	Father a bricklayer, brother a painter, sister a tailoress, another a nurse in England; husband died in Eng- land; husband's sister wrote her to come to America; she supported herself and children until paralysis came on; one son at work seventeen years old; one daughter, adopted by husband's sister.
Insane .....	Intemperate .....	Insanity, 5; neg- lect by rela., 5.	Relatives wealthy; brother put down as "capitalist" in directory; was seduced in her youth, which is said to have made her insane; has been twice in an asylum; relatives do not want to keep her there because it costs something.
.....	Good .....	No support, 10...	Father a Scotch Presbyterian, mother an Irish Catho- lic,—result, domestic war; mother alternated be- tween House of Correction and service; brought child to almshouse with her; father ran away; she is now doing well at service.
Old age .....	Good .....	Old age, 10.....	Her father was a contractor; husband killed by falling from a building; one son grew up and died.



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